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To combat sorcery counter-medicine was first available. This was a socially acceptable action which in content was precisely the same as was the illegal grievance against which it moved.[1] Counter-medicine was used when a power surpassing that which lay in the curse was available. An alternative was to cause the sorcerer to break his tabus. On the purely physical plane, when neither of these two methods was successful or available, coercive threats were hurled, with the result that the accused took the conditional curse, or in rare instances either out-faced the "prosecutors" or was violently attacked by them.

But first there was the problem of evidence. Here the situation was different from that we have observed in the marital situation. The act of aggression was secret and the aggressor a dangerous person. The problem, therefore was one not only of evidence—it was also one of detection.

With a number of medicine owners in the tribe, and every shaman a potential sorcerer, the finding of the guilty one was not a simple matter. The recourse was to divination.

When a tribesman had fallen under the curse of a sorcerer, only a powerful shaman could discover the nature and source of the magic. For this each medicine man had his own special technique. In all cases, however, its essence lay in divination. The general pattern was to divine by waving an eagle feather medicine-fan over the patient while singing medicine songs. When the power was strong enough, the image of the guilty sorcerer appeared beneath the fan. So certain was the technique in the more common cases that our informants explained, "When a feather is shot into a person, a medicine man can see just like reading a newspaper who put it there." The words of a diviner were accepted truth for those associated with the sick man. They stood as such unless the accused sorcerer was firm in denial.

Other divinational techniques were found in the peyote and beaver ceremonies. The former is a relatively modern, and the latter an ancient religious rite. The beaver ceremony was a notable curing service; it was one of the few Comanche religious forms in which there was group participation.

[1] There is nothing incongruous in magic as an instrument of law. When used as a recognized sanction, it serves a justifiable end, and is therefore "good." It must not be forgotten that all sanctions, whatever their nature, work a harm to the wrong-doer. It is this that gives sanctions their power of restraint. So Malinowski sees sorcery as a means of maintaining social order in Melanesia, *Crime and Custom*, pp. 85–94. Hogbin goes with him in interpreting the data from Ontong Java, *Law and Order in Polynesia* (New York, 1936), pp. 216–223. Evans-Pritchard sounds the same note for the Zande of Africa, *Sorcery and Native Opinion* (Africa, vol. 4, 1931), pp. 22–55.

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The ceremony, which lasted several nights, was rich in ritual detail and symbolism. As a by-product of the ceremony, detection of sorcery could occur. At a stage of the ceremony the officiating beaver medicine-man went into a trance. It was then that he "saw" the sorcerer.

The peyote ceremony was drawn upon in much the same way. In using the peyote ceremony to cure a sick person, the ritual leader—who does the curing—received a vision of the sorcerer.[6]

The diviner, when he was powerful enough as a doctor, undertook the cure as the next step. Divination revealed the sorcerer and also the nature of the curse. Usually the doctor knew well enough the relative strength of his medicine when matched with that of the sorcerer. When he thought his best would equal or surpass the power of the curse, he threw his medicine against it. When he was doubtful, he took a chance on doctoring, or he recommended another specialist, or he took to the ruse of advising how the sorcerer could be brought to grief by causing him to break his tabus. When this succeeded, it automatically killed the powers of the sorcerer's medicine, thereby nullifying the curse.

Curing and throwing back the curse were in Comanche society essentially one and the same. It was defense and revenge in one. The theory was that a curse let loose must find a goal. Under the direction of the curing doctor a counter-medicine—an anti-body—was induced into the body of the patient and the curse was driven out. This was most commonly demonstrated to the relatives of the sick one by pulling the foreign substance—the feather or whatnot—from the patient's body. It was good showmanship. The doctor breathed on it, rubbed it four times, and blew it from his palm away into the air. The patient got well; the sorcerer got sick. For the sorcerer there seems to have been no further cure. The only escape from this was for the sorcerer to recall his medicine before the cure began. Otherwise, either he or his intended victim died.

Post Oak Jim was once the mark of a rival medicine man in a case which illustrates this.

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[6] A good many Comanches are peyote devotees today. Meetings are held regularly throughout the year. Peyote is used for worship and curing, but the sorcery aspect has, so far as we know, dropped out of Comanche medical theory. This is in sharp contrast to Mescalero Apache practice, whereby peyoteism has become a vehicle for sorcery rivalry as described by M. E. Opler, *The Influence of Aboriginal Pattern and White Contact on a Recently Introduced Ceremony, the Mescalero Peyote Rite* (Journal of American Folklore, vol. 49, 1937), pp. 143–166. For definitive treatment of peyoteism see W. LaBarre, *The Peyote Cult* (Yale University Publications in Anthropology, No. 19, 1938).

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Case 22. Sorcery: Post Oak Jim Repels a Curse
Informant: Post Oak Jim

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"I was fire-tender[2] in a peyote meeting. That medicine man was outside. He was in the prime of life; his power was strong. We were inside there singing and praying. Things were going along, when of a sudden I felt a stab in my back. It was as if somebody had shot me there. Oh! I thought I would die. I spit up blood. 'Now I am killed,' I thought. (With much hacking and uncomfortable grimacing Jim showed just how he felt.)

"Stumbling to my feet, I pushed my way through the door to the outside air. I fell flat in the grass; it was heavy with dew. I lay there breathing. So much blood came up that it made a big pool.

"I got up again and entered the tipi. They were all sitting there. I walked around the circle to my place and sat down. They asked me what was the matter. They saw me bleeding there.

" 'Oh,' I said to them, 'I am not feeling so well.'

"The leader gave me some orders. 'Fix up the fire! Now come over here, and sit by me. That medicine man out there is doing things to you.' The leader did some great things then. He picked a live coal from the fire—a red hot one. He put it in his mouth, like that. He came close to me. His mouth met mine. Four times he blew into my mouth. Uh! I felt better.

" 'Now,' he told me, 'you go outside and air your clothes to the four directions. South! West! North! East!'

"When I reentered, they sprinkled holy cedar on the fire. The leader brushed the smoke over me with his eagle feather fan. The blood had stopped. I felt better. I was well.

"The other medicine man died in the fall while he was feeding his horses."

In this particular case there probably was no contractual set-up involved, unless implicitly. The doctor was right at hand; he stepped in as we today expect any medical man to do in an emergency. Whether the peyote leader had any claim on Post Oak Jim for his services or whether Post Oak offered any recompense was unfortunately not determined.

Not always was counter-medicine so immediately successful. It happened more than once that the sorcery was so powerful that no other medicine man could turn it back. Here was a desperate situation. Was the victim to die helplessly? Not among the Comanches. A war-like people, with war-like notions backing up their law, they were not without further means. The treatment of Barking Buttocks reveals what could happen.

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[2] The fire-tender is one of the four ritual offices in a peyote ceremony. The tender sits beside the door so he may easily bring in the wood. The other three sit opposite the door before the altar.

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Case 23. Sorcery: Bull Elk vs. Barking Buttocks
Informant: That's It

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"Barking Buttocks was using his medicine in a bad way against Bull Elk. Bull Elk was awfully sick. They called in one doctor after another to work on him. Not one could do a thing. One right after the other, they gave it up. Finally, they called on Traveller's Road. He was a captive, but he had medicine.

"This captive got up his songs; he acted as though he were flying over Bull Elk with his medicine feathers, so he could see who had put the spell on Bull Elk. Then he started right in doctoring. He did his cure three times, but nothing happened.

"Bull Elk had four brothers. Two of these brothers now talked to Traveller's Road. 'What did you learn?' they asked him. 'What is it in our brother there?'

" 'It is a bad medicine,' he replied. 'It is the evil medicine of Barking Buttocks.'

"The brothers looked at each other. 'Well now,' they said, 'We'll just ask him to remove that curse from our brother there. We won't do him any harm, friend. No, we won't attempt to harm him. We promise that. We will just ask him to withdraw his medicine. But how do you know it is the medicine of Barking Buttocks?'

" 'When I was flying the feathers over your brother, I saw his shadow. The medicine of Barking Buttocks is in him,' was the answer.

"That settled it. On the next morning Bull Elk's brothers sent his wife to seek the bad medicine man. They told her to invite him to come to the tipi where Bull Elk lay dying. The brothers were waiting in the tipi, sitting near the door, the sick man lying at the rear. Barking Buttocks came, and they moved apart for him to sit between them. Both of the brothers had weapons.

"They started talking to the sorcerer. 'Friend,' they said, 'We have a question to ask of you. There is our brother. He lies sick, about to die. You are the man who has done this thing. Take pity, we beg of you. Take pity on our brother there. Can you not see that he is an old man, even as you? Take away your medicine. Take it home with you.'

"Barking Buttocks replied that he had nothing to do with it. Who gave them the idea it was his medicine? Who said he was responsible anyway?

" 'Traveller's Road,' they answered.

"Now Barking Buttocks was angry. 'That captive has no sense,' he cried. 'He is a fool. His medicine makes him lie. Why do you listen to him? Bring that idiot in here so I can talk to him.'

"The wife went out to get the doctor. He came through the door, and they made a place for him to sit by them. Traveller's Road walked by. 'No,' he declined, 'I have my place.' He sat down at the foot of the sickbed. As he listened, one of the brothers explained the reproach of Barking Buttocks.

"Traveller's Road listened to the end. He was gravely silent. At last he pointed the finger at Barking Buttocks. 'How *can* he deny it?' he asked them. 'How can he deny it when he *knows* he did it?'

" 'Captive,' sneered the sorcerer.

" 'I saw his shadow over your brother,' reiterated Traveller's Road.

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"'What about it, friend?' they pressed Barking Buttocks.

"He did not answer them. He went above them to the Sun. 'Father,' he swore. 'Early in the spring let the first lightning and thunder take my life if this thing be true!'

"The brothers sat back. They were satisfied. 'If you say such a thing, we can't dispute you. We drop it.'

"During the winter Barking Buttocks with his family drifted away from the main camp. In the spring he went hunting with his nephew. The first storm of the season came: a cloud rolled up in the sky. Lightning flashed! One, two, three. The fourth bolt found Barking Buttocks. The medicine man fell dead. That settled the question. He was finished and Bull Elk was saved."

In this situation four approaches were taken: two on the supernatural plane, one on the profane, and then back again to the supernatural. There was the usual attempt to overcome sorcery with medicine. This failed without giving so much as a trace of the sorcerer. Then followed Traveller's Road's success in detection and his failure to cure. Direct action was taken, beginning with indirection. The sorcerer was entreated. The sorcerer denied responsibility. With denial a new tone appeared. The atmosphere was charged with threat of violence. Conciliation had failed; now came into play the law's earthly sanction—force. In this case, however, it did not come to violence. The medicine man preferred the supernatural. He introduced the fourth and final term by invoking the conditional curse—not on the accuser, but on himself.

The need for authoritative evidence had to be met. As between two medicine men, whose word was to be taken? The interesting thing in this case is that only the word of one party was tested. It was always so. The test was—"Is Barking Buttocks guilty as charged, or not?" That was the question put to the sun. The test was not—"Is Traveller's Road or Barking Buttocks the false speaker?" Hence the sorcerer called the conditional curse down upon himself. The presumption must be that either the sorcerer believed himself innocent, or else held the conditional curse lightly. It would be a bold Comanche who held to the latter. Skeptics may raise an eyebrow as to the end of Barking Buttocks in the manner described. Still there is legal significance in the native belief in the sorcerer's demise—for belief makes the sanction real as example for those who survive. The conditional curse in the sorcerer's trial was therefore the supreme appeal.

As counter-medicine occasionally failed, so also did sometimes threats of direct action. After all, while law is law, and sorcery illegal, sorcerers were dangerous personages. (One thinks twice, and more, before going to law with a gangster.) One trod cautiously when going to the mat with a sorcerer.

The Search for Power

Sometimes, if no cure was effected, the family of the patient withheld the promised gifts, but "an honorable medicine man would forget it." A mean medicine man could retaliate with sorcery, but in the opinion of Post Oak Jim this was quite unusual. It was felt by the Comanches that if a doctor tried his best and failed, it was still the honorable thing to give him his fee. In the case in which Been to See His Son (*patuawu'nikwai*) received a fine horse for doctoring a sick man, the patient subsequently died. Been to See His Son was riding this horse in a race one day when a disgruntled relative of the deceased patient demanded the return of the animal. Upon being refused, he pulled out a pistol and shot the horse dead. Been to See His Son did nothing.[7]

The cures effected by the Comanches included the use of pharmaceuticals, mechanical manipulation, thermotherapy, and psychosomatic therapy. Various medicine men used one or another or all of these techniques in accordance with the nature of the illness and the dictates of their guardian spirits.

The crude psychosomatic effect of tabu violation in the case of Breaks Something has already been described along with its cure by means of heat therapy and suggestive ritual. Two brief case histories of simple hysteria also illustrate the process.

« « « Wolf medicine makes a person invulnerable to bullets. You can't kill a wolf with a gun; only with a bow and arrow.

The father of a girl named She Blushes (*ɛkaɔ'ɾo*) was killed in battle. She went out alone to mourn by a tree. A wolf came along and attacked her. She tried to escape up the tree, but the wolf got her and pulled her down. She cried for help, and the wolf ran away, but not before it had bitten her.

The wolf bite made her insane. When people touched her, she howled like a wolf. They sent for Not Enough to Eat (*kewɜ'tsəmi*). He had wolf medicine.

He told some men to track down the wolf and bring it in to remove the medicine. They went out with guns and shot at it. Yet they could not kill it until one warrior shot it with an arrow. When they skinned the wolf, they found powder marks on the skin from

[7] Informant: Post Oak Jim.

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●755 the bullets that had hit but not hurt it. After they skinned it, they painted its nose red as directed by the medicine man. Then he told them to hang the skin in the tipi doorway with the head hanging toward the inside.

Right away the girl quieted down from howling. Not Enough to Eat then doctored her. She came to and asked for a drink.

He asked for a gray horse, a saddle, a blanket, and a bridle in pay. He also got the wolf skin, which his wife tanned for him. He painted the picture of a wolf on it and used it as a shield cover.[8] » » »

In yet another situation a woman showed hysterical symptoms for which the cause was unknown, according to *Kɔwino*.

« « « They took her to a peyote meeting to try to cure her. She ate peyote. During the night she was delirious—out of her head—so they went for another doctor. He wasn't able to help her, and she said she was not going to live until morning.

They sent me to get *Pihune*. When I got to his tipi, I found he was not at home. I went looking, and I found him with some other men, gambling. I told him my mission.

"Oh, must we hurry?" he asked.

"Yes," I told him. "Right away." So we rode back together at a lope. *Pihune* called for me to stop.

After a while, when he caught up to me, he said, "This thing is not really serious. That woman is not really sick. I knew you were coming for me. I know from a dream I had what is going on, and I knew the route we would have to take to get there. Now when we get there and that woman is talking out of her head, you tell her that I am no real medicine man. Tell her that I have no power. Tell her that she really isn't sick at all and that I am just a fake who is pretending to cure her."

When we arrived in the tipi where the woman lay, I gave *Pihune* a smoke. Then he asked for a drink of water before he started to doctor her. She watched him closely while he worked. She called him an untruthful man—no doctor.

"Yes, you are right," he confessed. "I have no power at all. How-

[8] Informant: She Invites Her Relatives.

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ever, you take a drink now, and you will come out of your delirium." 755

However, she refused the drink and started to fight him, so that I had to hold her back. She called him a liar again. He just told her to drink and she would get better. He was finally able to give her two drinks. Right away she began to quiet down.

When she was calm, he laughed at her, chuckling, "Now I have cheated you, and you have come to. I do have power."

She got well. There was nothing more to do, so that night *Pihune* left.[9] » » »

The tables could also be turned on a medicine man who carried his "monkeyshines" too far, however. Breaks Something told of a medicine man who, whenever he had the notion that someone was working against his medicine, would climb up the poles inside his wife's tipi and growl like a bear. It was his bear power protesting. This was all very well, except for one thing. He was so heavy that he broke several poles. These "fits" of his began to come so often that his wife ran out of poles. At last, she had to trade a good horse to an Arapaho or Cheyenne for some more poles.

He had a close friend who, when he heard about it, asked the wife of the medicine man what could be done to break these "climbing spells." She confided that her husband had told her to have someone shoot him when he was in a spell. So the friend went home to get a gun. He loaded it and put a spear in it (bear medicine gives immunity to bullets). He came in the tipi and asked the wife if she was sure that she was right. Yes, she was sure. "Go ahead and shoot," she replied. Just then the husband stopped his growling and called down from the top of the tipi that she was wrong. He promptly climbed down—and, says Breaks Something, "He had no such spells after that."

For simple ailments some medicine men used direct, practical techniques. As a preventative of croup, children were given necklaces to wear made of beads strung alternately with bisected segments of the ring cartilages from the windpipe of a turkey. When they were choking with actual croup, because an adult's finger is not long enough to reach down the throat to open the obstructive passage, a thong

[9] Informant: Kowino.

3: Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933, 1945) 1952
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755 wrapped with sinew and softened in water was pushed down the throat to clear it.[10]

752 Although buffalo medicine was worked to cure bloody wounds, especially gunshot wounds, mechanical tourniquets were used when necessary. Surgery was also relied upon. Slope tells of a battle casualty whose intestines protruded from a belly wound. A medicine man stopped the bleeding by putting his buffalo tail in his mouth and blowing on the wound. He then pressed the intestines back into place, and after burning the spines off a prickly pear cactus, split it. The open surfaces of the cactus were pressed against the flesh on both sides of the wound to compress it. It was then bound up and left to heal.

757 For patients with rheumatism or headaches some doctors dug a trench and heated it with a fire until the ground cracked. Raking out the fire, they laid a bed of sage, poured cold water on to steam it, and felt to see that it was not too hot. The patient lay down in the trench and was covered by a buffalo robe or blanket for a good baking.

For toothache they heated tree fungus and held it to the aching jaw. Cavities were treated by stuffing a dried mushroom of a certain variety in the hole. A laxative was made by boiling the cambium layer of the willow tree. Healing by means of herbs was practiced by men and women alike, whether professional doctors or not, just as was the case with whites in pioneer America. Almost every man and old woman had a bundle of medicines peculiarly his own, the secrets of which were known only to the owner. One such remedy used by a doctor was about as follows. With the liquid obtained from boiling certain herbs, he bathed the patient. With a paste derived from the liquid he also painted dog tracks on the patient and on a large dog.[11]

Some of the owners of medicines were supposed to have learned of the various medicinal plants by means of dreams or through some mythical hero who went out on the prairie with the individual and pointed out various plants for use in treating diseases. Fasting was a 752 common treatment for most ailments. The Comanches are credited with "being expert in curing gun-shot wounds, and in the treatment

[10] Informant: She Invites Her Relatives.
[11] Informant: Medicine Woman.

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of fractured limbs, which they bandage with neatness and good effect," but they did not attempt amputation. If blood flowed too freely, it was checked by packing the wound with grass. Likewise, it is claimed that they had one or more good remedies for rattlesnake bites. Several formulae were concocted from roots and herbs, but possibly the most effective treatment was to cut out the injured part and then suck the wound to draw out the poison. A poultice made of prickly pear leaves was applied to check inflammation and was a common remedy applied to wounds, as in the abdomen case just cited.[12] The prickly pear poultice is still a home remedy in our own society.

Petroleum was also considered to be an excellent healing salve. A Comanche chief once took Thomas C. Battey to a place on Medicine Creek, Oklahoma, where there was a "heap of medicine—good, black medicine." It was oil on top of water.[13] Near by, on top of Adams Hill, they found a heavy exudation of petroleum which they used as a salve on the sore backs of their horses.[14]

The "madstone" or medicine bone was used for wounds, infections, boils, and pains. It was a small piece of the leg bone of the giant prehistoric mammoth, believed by the Comanches to be bones of *piamɜmpits*—the cannibal owl. Placed over the affected spot, it was supposed to draw out the poison.[15] In case of internal pain, some doctors treated by cutting the patient where the pain seemed to be and then attempting to suck out the pain or evil spirit. The sucking was done through a small horn prepared for the purpose, which was placed over the incision. The doctor would spit out whatever he sucked from the wound. The clever medicine man might show the patient some small stones, which he had placed in his mouth, and pretend that he had sucked them from the wound with the aid of his spiritual power, claiming that the stones had been the cause of the pain.

[12] Burnet, "The Comanches and Other Tribes of Texas and the Policy to Be Pursued Respecting Them," *loc. cit.*, 233; Neighbors, "The Naüni or Comanches of Texas," *loc. cit.*, 129; C. and J. D. Smith, *op. cit.*, 56; J. Lee Humfreville, *Twenty Years among Our Savage Indians*, 242.

[13] Battey, *op. cit.*, 189.

[14] Nye, *Carbine and Lance*, 99.

[15] Informants: Medicine Woman; Yellowfish. Medicine stones are still in use among the Comanches.

The Search for Power

The Shoshone notion that *nɜnəpi* power gives Herculean strength (a little man can pack a deer on his back) seems to have been dropped by the Comanches. At least, it was not mentioned. 776

Comanche religious beliefs and practices, although they were socialized, remained almost wholly individualistic. Group rituals were few and far between until the introduction of the peyote cult. 796

Of group rituals practiced in the mid-nineteenth century by the Comanches, we know of only two—the Beaver Ceremony and the Eagle Dance. The Sun Dance was not tried until 1874, and that, apparently, no more than once.

The Beaver Ceremony is known as *pianahuwait*, "Big Doctoring." It was performed under the direction of a powerful beaver medicine man assisted by others with beaver power. Other people joined in the ceremony to share in its general effects of well-being, although the cure was held only at the request of a family who had a member suffering from tuberculosis or sorcery. 796 755

An extra-large tipi was raised and carefully prepared inside. Placed erect in the very center of the lodge was the trunk of a cottonwood tree, which reached to the top of the tipi. Slightly to the east of the pole, toward the door, was the fireplace. North and south of this were dug two elongated ponds, filled with water and edged with willows. They were beaver ponds. On the outside of each pond a little effigy mound of earth was made in the form of the beaver facing westward.

Just outside the tipi, to the south of the entrance, was dug a pit two feet deep by six or seven feet long, with the long axis running north and south. At the edge of the northwest corner of the pit (the corner nearest the door of the medicine lodge) was set a vertical pole, ten feet high, from which an eagle feather was hung.

When the ceremony began, the patient was laid at the extreme western edge of the tipi, with two women assistants to the doctor taking their places to the north of him. The doctor worked from the south side of the patient. A group of song leaders filed in to their places at the south side, and a band of drummers sat along the edge of the tipi in the southeast quadrant. Spectator participants filled all the remaining space to the east and north.

In the cure, the fire was lighted after the patient was brought in.

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The medicine man, dressed according to the dictates of his medicine, approached the tipi from the east, swinging a bull roarer (*yuane*:[18]) as he came and calling to the people, inviting them into the lodge.

After circling the tipi in the clockwise direction, he leaped into the pit from the east; on climbing out on the west side, he was ready to enter the lodge.

All persons who wished to be spectators (everybody was welcome —sickly or puny ones were most likely to participate) gathered around. They first had to remove all metal objects from their persons; then they circled the lodge and jumped in and out of the pit as the medicine leader had done. After entering the lodge, anyone going to sit on the north side had to circle the fire clockwise to get there.

Now the ceremony began. The medicine man ordered the music to start. The drummers gave four beats, finishing with a yell. The song leaders followed with four special beaver medicine songs, after which the medicine man dismissed the singers, who moved over among the drummers.

The time had arrived for the invocation of the pipe. The assistants (the women who had summoned the medicine man) filled the pipe. They lighted it with an ember offered from the fire by a spectator. Each took a puff before handing the pipe to the medicine man. He drew four puffs of smoke and prayed according to the dictates of his medicine. The pipe was now returned to the women, who cleaned it and laid it on the ground before them.

The medicine man next took up his feathers. First they were dipped in the north beaver pond; next in the south. Circling as always in the clockwise direction, he returned to the patient, whom he fanned with the dripping feathers. The two assistants once more filled and lighted the pipe, smoked it, and passed it to the medicine man. He smoked as before. When he had done, he again passed it back to the assistants for cleaning.

Now standing at the feet of the patient, the doctor worked over him with herbs. When he had finished this process, he flung off his buffalo robe and shinnied up the cottonwood tree to stick his head

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[18] *Yuane* means "warm wind," the soft whirring noise of the bull roarer. It consists of a flat cedar board "in the shape of a beaver tail" swung above the head by means of a thong attached to a handle. In battle it was whirled, or else carried close to the shield for power to stop bullets.

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out the top of the tipi (Does his spirit rest up there as in the séance?). Descending the pole, he ran around the fire and stepped into the bed of coals from the east, fluttering his arms as a burrowing owl flutters its wings. This spectacular feat completed, he stepped back out of the fire to the east, and walking to the south to complete the circle, he resumed his place at the west edge of the lodge.

His next step was to circle around to the south pond and take some bark from the willows. This he chewed like a beaver. He exhaled upward, blowing out perfume of the beaver.

The first night's curing was over. The medicine man ordered the drummers and singers to start the closing song—a song in which everybody joined. At its end, the fire was extinguished, and everybody milled about in the tipi for a while. On leaving, each participant jumped into the ditch and climbed out on the east side of it. The service was over at midnight.

Early the next morning, the medicine man was out announcing when the next session would begin. The same procedure was repeated, except that it ended at noon. That night it was all done over again, and again the next morning. The whole ceremony lasted two nights and two days, ending at noon of the third day.

Before the people left the tipi on the third day, they sang the closing song four times. Meanwhile, the tipi stakes were loosened, so that at the close of the last song, while still singing, they could lift up the tipi cover and run out in all directions.

Thus was the most powerful of all the curing ceremonies of the Comanches consummated. It must have been an impressive rite, and one which stood out in the stark simplicity of Comanche ritualism. Ralph Linton suggests that the Beaver Ceremony may have been derived from Pawnee sources. He also calls attention to its Earth contacts (the entering into the pit) as an implication of a use of Earth medicine as well as of beaver.[19] We would add that the inclusion of the burrowing owl reinforces the weight of this suggestion.

Two versions of the Beaver Cure were given: one by Post Oak Jim, a member of the Those Who Move Often band, and one by *Kɔwino*, a Yep Eater. *Kɔwino's* version described a much more at-

[19] Ralph Linton, "The Comanche," in A. Kardiner (ed.), *Psychological Frontiers of Society*, 67.

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796 tenuated ritual than that of Post Oak Jim's, which has been presented
●755 here. *Kɔwino* said that he described the ceremony as it was performed
184 in later years. That's It, a Water Horse, had heard about the Beaver Ceremony, but had never seen it because it was not performed in his band.

787 Of the dances used by the Comanches in search of power, the
796 Eagle Dance was outstanding. It was sponsored by a prominent member of the band, usually the father or uncle of a youth turning warrior. The sponsor sought out a medicine man with strong eagle or war power and offered a smoke. If the medicine man accepted, he assumed complete charge of the ceremony. The decision was for him a serious one. If he accepted, his own power would be diminished somewhat, since it would be spread among the dancers. On the other hand a refusal might be interpreted as lack of confidence in his own power, as fear to risk spreading it out. In such a case, the medicine man would suffer loss of prestige among his own people. Furthermore, there was the factor of remuneration. Relatives and friends of participants contributed gifts. The medicine leader could keep what he preferred for himself, leaving the remainder for the dancers.

After the medicine man accepted the request, he announced the time and place of the ceremony. He and the dancers arose before daylight, went to the creek, bathed, stripped to the breechclout, put on war paint, let their hair down and put eagle feathers in it, and rubbed themselves with sage. After that they sat in a semicircle, with the opening toward the east, and smoked ceremoniously.

When the smoking was over, the leader arose and, followed closely by the dancers, sneaked silently to a near-by camp to "capture" a girl. Spectators remained some distance apart. In the old days the girl had to be a captive. The girl's family made a pretense of defending their camp against the attacking party, but the "victorious raiders" carried the "captured" girl to their own camp where preparations had been made for the remainder of the ceremony.

[801] A tipi or brush lodge was used. The medicine leader provided two, four, or six drummers and singers to help—never an odd number. They sat close together facing the east. The girl sat beside the leader. The dancers first assumed a position directly in front, facing east, but when the music began, they formed a circle around the musicians.

mournful fact, that much of it is obtained from those unfortunate individuals, who fall victims to their cupidity. They cut off the hair from the back part of their heads, leaving it in front, the longer the better, and which they divide so as to bring it down from each temple, and to this they fasten any other that they can get, until it nearly reaches the feet. The savage who cut off mine, wore it in this way, and took frequent opportunity exultingly to remind me of it. But their cues with them are indispensable, and if they cannot obtain them in one way, they will in another, and horse-hair answers in the room of better. They do [57] them up usually in strips of red and blue cloth, carefully winding it closely from the top to the extremity, with the red on one side, and the blue on the other. To a small tuft of hair which they leave behind, is appended trinkets of the most trifling kind, such as old buttons, or any thing that will jingle, and on their arms and fingers they have a profusion of rings of different kinds. Their ornaments are laid aside when they go out to war.

Their treatment of the sick is truly singular. When any of them, whether male or female, is considered to be seriously indisposed, they (the women) take all the grass and every other obstruction from a spot of ground sufficiently large to admit of the construction of two tents together; these are for the accommodation of friends. In the centre of the circle formed by the tent, they dig

10:Horn T-3 (1836-1837) 1955
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a hole for the fire, the smoke from which passes through an opening in the top; on the margin of the hole for the fire, they dig a trench in a circular form, and fill it with water. In a direct line from the door across the centre of the fire-place, and between it and the fire, they spread a buffalo skin for the sick person's bed. At the head and feet, and on each side opposite the shoulder, they place small heaps of dirt moulded in the form of a sugar loaf; they then place a larger heap, of nearly the same form, exactly between the one at the head and the side of the tent, and another between the fire and the one at the feet; in these two last they plant willow trees. They then cut a trench, with square sides, and about three feet deep, in a direct line from the door of the tent, and from ten to fifteen feet in length. The dirt taken from this trench is taken to the end opposite or farthest from the door, and thrown into a sort of mound, and a willow tree set in it, and smaller ones of the same kind are placed on each side of the trench, quite up to the door. The friends are then formally invited, when a scene commences which defies an adequate description. The musicians come forward, with fife and drum, and play with all their might; the whole company passes in single file through the trench into the tent, and the music, and dancing continues through the night, with short intervals of rest. When thirsty, they drink of the wa- [58] ter in the trench about the fire, and frequently approach

755 the patient and spirt the water from their mouths in his face, and affectionately enquire if he is better. Should the poor creature answer in the affirmative, [152] (which is not often the case, as might well be supposed,) they attest their joy in the most ludicrous [764] manner; but if the patient dies at this, or at a subsequent period of his illness, he is interred in [757] the grave already dug at his door. The treatment is the same in the case of either sex, and they do not administer any kind of medicine. When a man 764 is buried, they put his gun, powder and ball, bow 768 and arrows, into the grave with him; and when a woman dies, they bury her as above stated, and then burn her tent and all she had; after which, 766 they join together and build the family a new one. When a young child dies, they bury it lashed to the board on which they carry it.

765 But no pen can describe the extent of their wail- 152 ings for the dead. When they return after a long absence, they alight from their beasts, and their women immediately turn them out, and then come and sit down at a respectful distance. Not a word of any kind is spoken by any one; the whole company is seated with the utmost silence. At length, without uttering a word, they begin to cry, and continue in this kind of exercise until it rises to a high pitch; when one of them suddenly stops, rises from his seat, and addresses the company, who at once give him their attention, while he tells them, in substance, that they have met together once more

29: Hoebel E-4,5 (1933) 1969 NO6 Comanche NO6

to get a share in their power. Although they were paid for their healing efforts, they did not attempt to milk the public or use their supernatural potency for exploitative purposes. Comanche magic was mostly white.

Occasional older medicine men, however, became "mean medicine men." Unable any longer to maintain their prestige by war prowess, they struck out at enterprising youngsters. They shot their medicine into them. The detection of sorcery was the job of a curing medicine man. In the first instance, after diagnosing the nature of the illness and who caused it, he always tried to effect a cure with a counter medicine. If he was successful, nothing more was done. If he failed, legal action was in order. The brothers of the sorcerized victim would call upon the sorcerer to remove the curse. If he refused, which he usually did by denying that he had anything to do with the affair, they could move to an attack with weapons or the threat of such an attack. But whether they did or not depended upon their strength of character. In sorcery cases where the aggrieved party was a weakling (and apparently not backed by brothers) there was no prosecution; and one Comanche, Salt Worn Out, even shifted to another band, to get out of the sorcerer's sphere of influence.[7] In one instance where the aggrieved brothers started an apparently forceful prosecution, they backed down when the sorcerer put up an even more forceful defense—a threat of *more* sorcery.[8] In the event both parties took equally strong positions, one accused sorcerer took a voluntary conditional curse on the sun—and was killed by lightning the following spring. Thus he paid the price of his guilt.[9]

In another instance the alleged sorcerer was forthwith stabbed and killed by his own sister's son, the brother of his victim. The slayer's elder brother was appalled by the act. But Chew Up, the knife wielder, retorted, "Is it as nothing that I should sit and watch my brother being murdered? Should I have done nothing?" And here there was no blood revenge in counteraction, "Because" in the very words of a Comanche, "the quarrel was in the family, no one else could take it up or do anything about it."[10] Homicide was not legally a tribal or public affair.

The cases in general indicate that the Comanches preferred not to tangle with sorcerers. A cure by a good doctor was much to be preferred. This failing, a kinsman did not have to prosecute as did a cuckolded husband, but he legitimately could, if he had the guts. Otherwise the individual act of sorcery went unpunished. Brave warriors as champions at law did not enter these cases. A warrior outfacing another warrior was one thing, but to have to threaten a sorcerer was not an inviting prospect for even the bravest.

[7] Hoebel, *Political Organization and Law-ways*, case 25, p. 92.
[8] *Ibid.*, case 24, p. 91.
[9] *Ibid.*, case 23, pp. 89-90.
[10] *Ibid.*, case 27, pp. 94-95.

31: Jones E-S (1967-1970) 1972 NO6 Comanche NO6
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121 ongoing acculturation, or when they are in real or imagined conflict with similar institutions in the culture in dominance, they become even more elusive to the
123 ethnographer. For example, Sanapia's initial resistance to converse on the subject of native doctoring practices was based on her fear of ridicule and her belief that information which she gave this investigator could make her liable to arrest for practicing medicine without a license.

My first experience with other Comanche informants on the subject of Comanche native doctors was similar. Though many were fonts of knowledge on practically any subject touched upon in the preliminaries of an interview, my questions concerning even such an inoffensive subject as the existence of living native doctors were met with terse denials. It was only after establishing a socially visible rapport with Sanapia that I found the first resistance on this subject to subside. I was then able to obtain information from certain informants who had been Sanapia's patients or who at least had some comments to offer on the subject of Sanapia, native doctors, or supernaturalism in general.

755 The term "medicine," when used by Sanapia, refers specifically to material items which are a necessary part of her activities when she is involved in manipulating or directing her personal *puha*, or supernatural power. *Puha* is equivalent to the terms "Medicine" and "power." Sanapia uses the term "doctoring" to mean any kind of action by a *puhakut*, or one who possesses an extraordinary degree of supernatural power, which is concerned with the direction of Medicine at another for purposes of good or evil.

121 Because of the dearth of material on Comanche culture, I have but a minimal amount of very general information with which to compare the sometimes highly detailed data obtained from Sanapia on the intricacies of her profession. With comparative literary precedent lacking on this specific subject and in the absence of other doctors similar in kind to Sanapia, this study must be considered as a discussion of the "Medicine way" of *a* Comanche Medicine woman. Generalizations on certain Comanche supernaturalistic notions will be made only when a number of informants have been in acceptable accord. It should be noted that even if there existed a more complete literature on Comanche doctors, and if there existed at present Medicine women with which to compare Sanapia, generic statements on the subject would still be artificial and tenuous, given the great degree of latitude granted the individual doctor in the details of the performance of his role and the individualistic bent of Comanche personality in general (Wallace and Hoebel 1952:155; Kardiner 1945:81).

The bias of the ethnographer is always a crucial element in determining the outcome of his field research and the conclusions which he will draw from such experience. I refer to personal bias, partiality, inclination, or prejudice not specifically concerned with a field problem. Of course, it is ideally desirable that the field researcher have as little bias as possible, but he will necessarily possess a certain way of viewing given situations and individuals and, whether he desires to or not, he will judge them. Both for the ethnographer's sake and for the sake of his reader in evaluating his product, I feel that the researcher should attempt to make as explicit as possible the particular manner in which he viewed his subjects, any partiality he experienced, and the manner in which he feels he was accepted by his subjects. Especially with a book of this kind, this is

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 NO6 Comanche NO6
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southern (Wasps or Quick Stingers) band joined the United States Army in its war against the "wild" northern Comanche bands. This bit of "Freckle" treachery is still perpetuated in the war stories told by the northerners.

The most obvious contemporary example of the ancient roots of this Comanche factionalism concerns the Kiowa-Comanche-Apache constitution established as a result of the Medicine Lodge Treaty of 1867. The southerners favor a separate Comanche constitution, while the northerners view this as an attempt to break the long-standing alliance between the northern Comanches and the Kiowas. Sanapia's statement on this subject is typical of the northerner's sentiment.

> Here, up to today, those Walter's people are trying to break us up. How could they do that? I got grandchildren that's Kiowa, and the Comanches are all mixed in with them Kiowas. We all together . . . got to stay that way. Those southern people aren't like us. All their old people are Mexicans. Well, they Comanches, same as us, but they act like white people. We've been with these Kiowas and Apaches for a long time, and we can't break it up.

Of course, this traditional–progressive and conservative–liberal differentiation suggests but the grossest divisions in Comanche society. There is also the Christian–peyotist factionalism, for example; however, like the other minor factional elements, it is subsumed under the greater northern–southern Comanche divisions. The northern people consider themselves peyotist and look with scorn on the southerner's predilection for Christianity—the white man's religion. The southerners consider the northerners' religious bias primitive and heathenish and but a further example of the inferiority of the northerners in general. In my field research I found the southern Comanches, relative to the northern Comanches, to be generally lacking in knowledge of, or sympathy toward, those aspects of Comanche culture considered by the northerners and Comanche literature to be traditional in nature, that is, relating to the time of the nomadic culture of the Comanches and the values and world view which it posited.

[121] The preceding account of northern versus southern Comanche orientation is intended as a generalizing descriptive attempt. There are, of course, progressive northern Comanches and conservative southern Comanches. However, the relatively rigidly defined spatial distribution of the opposing "tribes" will usually call for the progressively oriented northerner to move south and the conservative southerner to move north. I observed several instances in which an individual, in order to visibly state his factional allegiance, moved his abode into the geographic area most closely identified with the faction which he supported.

Sanapia is a *yapai* Comanche and an archconservative and traditionalist. The majority of my informants were also northern Comanches, though not all were *yapai*. These were the only people who possessed some "accurate" knowledge concerning native doctors and doctoring practices and who actually interacted in this institutionalized framework. The southerners, recognizing Sanapia's role among the northerners, emphasized the superiority of white doctors over the "superstitious" doctoring practices valued by the majority of northerners.

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115 159 603 855 [765] people like now. I remember that when I was small I watched long bunch of white peoples come in here and up to today that's almost all there is around here. In them days, no fences and no white people. And my grandmother knew that before it happened. She know lot of things like that too. And when what she says happens I was sure surprised, but it made me believe her better. She had a big hunk out of her ear. She cut her ear up when her brother died in the war . . . to show how sorry she was, but I didn't know that and I would joke her and tell her, "What's the matter with your ear? Did a mule bite it off?" She would tell me what happened to it. I would ask her all sorts of things and she would always tell me something on it. She's the one who told me to take my mother's doctoring-way when I was getting older. I didn't want it because I thought it was silly or nasty, but my grandmother said that soon in the future there wouldn't be hardly any Indian doctors left and she sure was right on that. I really cried when she pass on, because she had been so good to me, bringing me along like she did. So now, up to today, my daughters got kids and my son. I try to be like my grandma. I tell them old ways that I can remember, but, you know, they don't hardly care for it. They getting to be more like white peoples every year that pass. My grandmother told me all this would happen too.

115 159 604 756 755 Sanapia's maternal uncle, an eagle doctor like her mother, was very active among peyotists in southern Oklahoma. Her first recollections of peyote meetings were those which were directed by her uncle, and it was through him that Sanapia later learned the manifold uses of peyote as a medicine. Her mother also utilized peyote as a medicine, though not to the extent to which her uncle employed it. Sanapia's paternal grandfather was also a "strong peyote man." Thus early in life Sanapia was impressed with the importance of peyote by two very influential family members.

Religious Influences

115 159 771 Sanapia was reared in an atmosphere colored by three basic approaches to supernaturalistic realms—the Christianity of her father, the peyotism of her uncle and paternal grandfather, and the more customary Plains pattern of vision quests and guardian spirits as embodied by her mother, the eagle doctor. Through this liberal education she learned the basic tenets of each and managed to syncretically combine elements of all three into the validating and supportive unity by which she now lives and finds the rationalization for her own supernatural prerogative as a Medicine woman.

She quite naturally deemphasizes the differences and emphasizes the similarities in these three supernaturalistic systems. She is very fond of making comments like the following:

115 159 771 755 You know, the bible says that when Jesus was on earth he would heal people. His disciples had that same power as Him, and I know I'm just like them. I got power in my hands to heal peoples too. You can read the bible to find out that Jesus gives those people power to help people that got sickness, and it's just like that with me. When I pray, I feel just like, well, the Lord says, "You go heal that person. I give you power to do that and give you a good mind . . . put power in your hands. When you touch anybody like that, you'll get them well." That's what I always thought, you know. Use the bible like that.

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She speaks similarly of peyote:

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That peyote is a real good medicine. They call it . . . some of the Indians 771
call it a sacrament like white peoples who are Christians. God gave that peyote 755
to the Indians to help them when they got sickness. I learned how to use that peyote a lot of ways. You ain't supposed to take it and think you go crazy. No! It's a medicine and that's the way I use it. Peyote gives me power to make people well.

When speaking of her supernatural patron, the eagle, she says:

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The eagle got more power then anything living, I guess. Its got Medicine to 755
help people get well . . . to cure them. I got power like that eagle because the 825
eagle help me when I call on it when I doctor. My mother told me that I be just like that eagle when I doctor. I can feel the eagle working in me when I doctor and try hard to get somebody well. Feels like that eagle tell me in my mind to go ahead and fix that person up . . . get him well.

However, though she utilizes elements of peyotism and Christianity, she 115
has little sympathy for the organized forms of these religions. This is especially 159
true with regard to Christianity. 771
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The way I know is, when I went to Christian church up there, many, many years back I found out some things. Like when you get hard up, or when you get sick in the family, they ain't going to help you. They don't come. They don't say, "Let's have a prayer meeting for you. Let's do that." They don't say that to you. They really tight. They don't spare nothing with you. I still pray like that, but I'm not going to their church for nothing.

She speaks of the Native American Church:

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They say I supposed to sign my name to belong to that Native Church. I told 771
them that I wasn't going to do that. I been using that medicine for long as I 795
know it, and my mother before me, and her father before her and way, way 755
back like that. I don't have to belong to nothing to use that medicine. We hold meetings here on our place but I ain't going nowhere else around here to peyote meeting. That medicine belong to anybody that needs it and you don't have to belong to the church that they set up if you want to use it.

White Contact

Sanapia's first extensive contact with white society came when she began 115
her schooling at the age of seven at Cache Creek Mission School in southern 159
Oklahoma. She remembers the seven years she spent at Cache Creek as generally 177
pleasant. 777
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I really did enjoy that school. I like it. The teachers . . . every one of them and our superintendent were all missionaries. They were really nice people. They teach us the bible. All the girls and boys go up there and they teach us all these bible stories and they question us out of the bible to see if we really read it.

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eggs, but it always feel like I'm choking in here and I just quit eating them. And now I can't get the taste out of my mouth. I'll have it all day long. I just can't eat them.

Sanapia's maternal uncle gave her but one "rule." She was forbidden to eat the visceral organs of animals. This was a bitter pill for Sanapia because of her love for liver and an Indian delicacy made from stuffed intestines. She has managed to circumvent this tabu by reinterpreting it. Sanapia feels that if she changes these forbidden meats into something else, disguises them, she can eat them with no fear or guilt.

A *puhakut* cannot doctor himself in the manner which was described regarding the removal of the eagle egg. This is unfortunate for Sanapia, for as she grows older, the tabus which she must observe become increasingly cumbersome; and since she is the only living eagle doctor, she has no way in which to relieve herself of these restrictions. This is also a reason for her disinclination to associate with the less traditionally based members of the Comanche tribe. The more conservative and traditional Comanches recognizing the special limitations which are placed on Sanapia's behavior and, honoring them, make her life a little less complicated. With the less traditionally oriented, Sanapia cannot be sure that they understand the meaning of her tabus, and thus she must be constantly on guard around them lest they pass behind her while she is eating, for example, and unknowingly, or perhaps knowingly, cause her to break one of the many restrictions placed on her with regards to food and behavior. Sanapia states that ignorance is no excuse when a "rule" is broken. Her tabus are mechanical.

The unique feature in the third power transmission was Sanapia's acquisition of her Medicine song. The Medicine song is Sanapia's most direct means of communication to the supernatural realms which are the ultimate sources of her power. The song belonged to both the mother and the uncle. Sanapia considers her Medicine song extremely potent and utilizes it only under the most critical and pressing of doctoring situations. It is not a common element in her doctoring activities but is only employed when she feels that all her other tactics are failing. The song is her ultimate doctoring tool in that it is as close as she comes to actually commanding her power sources to heed her wishes.

The immediate result of her Medicine song is the summoning of the spirits of her mother and uncle. She then asks them for support in her attempts to reach more deeply into the supernaturalistic realms for more power and control over the situation which is challenging her.

When my mother gave me that song she told me, "When you come by yourself like that, when you don't have no place to go for help, when you got no one to lean on for help, sing this song. What you want, you going to get. I'll be listening to you. When you sing this song, I'm going to hear you singing and I'm going to help you."

Two tabus concerned with behavior were associated with the power increase of this third stage. Sanapia was forbidden to ever directly make a request of another. Her powers would, according to her mother, allow her to obtain anything

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she desired simply by wishing for it. Sanapia evades the strictures of this tabou by circumlocutions when her daily routine dictates that she must ask an individual for some object or assistance.

The second "rule" which she acquired at this stage required that she must always be alone when she doctors. Once again, Sanapia views this as a recognition of the potential dangers which excessive supernatural powers possess for humans. The only individuals who could possibly be with her while she doctors are other eagle doctors or persons who Sanapia feels have Medicine which would protect them against the dangers of supernatural contamination.

Kardiner (1945:64) makes a comment relevant at this point when writing on the subject of Comanche notions of power and magic.

> [769] Another interesting point in connection with power, probably unique with the Comanches, is that power might be obtained from the ghosts of medicine men. This was obtained through sleeping by the grave of the medicine man, not moving all night, no matter what terrifying thing happened. The ghost would then transfer the power asked for. Sometimes the sleeper would have a vision; in this the ghost did not come in human form but as a great wind and then a giant bird, which conveyed to him the power that he wanted.

Sanapia's discussion of the later stages of her training agrees with Kardiner's statement in general; however, some major divergences appear. Sanapia, through her Medicine song, is able to summon the spirits of her mother and uncle to her aid. She does not consider their appearance as the apparition of ghosts, however. To Sanapia, ghosts are totally evil entities. Ghosts are also unable to appear in human form since, in her opinion, their human forms decomposed at the place of their interment. Her mother and uncle appear to her looking exactly as they did during the time of her training. When they appear, they do not speak but rather employ hand signs to tell Sanapia that they have come to her aid.

[768] She does not mention a Medicine man's grave as the location of the inevitable struggle with the ghosts, and she definitely does not feel that power is transmitted to her from ghosts. [825] She does agree generally with Kardiner's mention of a "giant bird" as one of her power sources, though she does not believe that the Medicine bird is actually a ghost in another form.

In reiteration, Sanapia states that she received her initial powers through her mother and maternal uncle, and only later in her life was she honored with visitations by the eagle, her patron and guardian spirit. The four days and nights of seclusion and meditation, in her opinion, are in actuality a final test of a new doctor's ability to withstand the attacks of ghosts, and not a time when he is in a position to acquire further powers from a supernatural patron.

Final Test

Sanapia failed her final test. After her mother had explained to her what she could expect during her four-day ordeal, Sanapia was too frightened to go through with the vigil. She would spend the daylight hours sitting on the hill

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115 159 756 778 age, was tired of her profession and its rigors. She felt, perhaps, that she could excuse her inactivity in doctoring to the fact that her daughter possessed her powers. In other words, the mother's behavior could possibly have been based on circumstance, though Sanapia now interprets it as a law to be observed in transmission of power from a donor to a recipient. Sanapia is also in agreement that this type of rule does not make good sense. However, she explains that she does not understand many things which she does in her capacity as doctor. It is enough for Sanapia that her mother and uncle told her to keep the Medicine way, so she attempts to keep it, even if she does not understand certain aspects of the role she inherited. A practical aspect of what Sanapia considers one of the more senseless of her rules of behavior concerns the method she must follow in choosing a successor. As a woman, her first choice of successor would be her favorite daughter. However, at this point if she gave her Medicine to her daughter and then ceased doctoring herself, as she feels she must, it would be approximately twenty years before the Comanches would again have an eagle doctor in their midst, that is, until after the daughter passes menopause. During this time the special prerogatives of her Medicine way could probably be taken over by peyotism, as she has seen occur among the neighboring Kiowa. It is significant that she does consider herself in competition with peyote doctors.

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> Those Kiowa got this old man that doctors with peyote but he don't get people with twisted-face well . . . sometimes he don't get anybody well. That's what I heard. I even got some of those peoples that go to him . . . they come to me later on and I fix them up. Peyote is good but some things can't get well with it. I can do things that they can't do because I got that power. People learn that and then I see them . . . come to me. Us Comanches got two brothers that doctor with peyote too. That's all they use. There's a young man down at Walters but nobody pay him any attention. He just says he got power but I want to know where he got it from. Nobody knows that so . . . well, he's just a young man.

Dreams and Visions

115 159 756 787 [828] Shortly after Sanapia began her doctoring career, she had her first "real dream." She distinguishes between ordinary dreams, which she considers generally unimportant, and real dreams, to which she attributes enough importance that she will be motivated to certain kinds of behavior by them. The first dream experience occurred after she appealed to the eagle, while doctoring, to supply her with a special Medicine feather.

> This man, something like a man, came to where I was sleeping way in the night. He stood there and then held his hand to me. I just watch him, you know. I wasn't scared or nothing. Then he move his arm toward north and all at once I saw his arm go away from him. And next morning I said, "You all know what, I'm sure lonesome to see my uncle. He's up north around Geary. Let's go see him, if you all want to." Here we pack up and beat it down

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there north. And we was coming. We visit him about four days or five days. I said, "Uncle, we going home now." He said, "Why?" and I told him, "Just feel I get home and get my check." Then he went back and opened up his suitcase and said, "Come here," and I went. He had about twelve eagle feathers and he told me to take one I want best. I pulled out the best one in the bunch, and he said, "That's for you. Take it with you." And so that feather, what I dream about was given to me by my uncle. That's what that dream, really good dream, carried with it.

A recurring real dream comes to Sanapia which, in its essentials, is similar to the one just mentioned. The man appears to her at night and extends his hand to her. In the palm of his hand is a peyote button which covers the entire area of his palm, even fusing with his hand. He instructs Sanapia to take it from him. Her first several efforts are futile, for as she reaches for the peyote, it disappears. Finally, she is successful in taking the peyote from the man's hand. As soon as she grasps it in both hands, the peyote enters her hands and spreads a chill or tingling sensation through her hands and arms. Sanapia equates the tingling sensation with supernatural power.

Sanapia is not consistent in statements concerning her opinion of the identity of the man in her real dreams. At times she identifies him as the spirit of her maternal uncle, at times as "something that's helping," and at other times as the "peyote man." The identity of the man seems of little concern to her. The significant part of the dream to her is her magical acquisition of the peyote's power.

During peyote meetings she has had several experiences which she considers similar to her real dreams. The central theme of all these peyote experiences is the same: The peyote tells Sanapia that through its power she can accomplish anything she desires. The following account is typical. It also contains, once again, the peyote–hand motif. The gigantic size she attains relative to those around her is another recurring element in these peyote experiences.

> And you know, that night, oh, I ate so much of that peyote, and I just feel good. Then, when I look, all the people sitting around in the tepee like that, everybody was way down right under my feet, and I was above them. I was sitting on top of them. That's how the peyote affect me in my body. And I said, "I wonder why they sitting down there and me sitting up here?" And I look this way and my boy was sitting here and I said, "Look at these peoples sitting down there and I'm sitting up here. Here's your head right here and you're sitting way down there too. I wonder why?" He said, "Mama, you eat too much of that peyote." And you know, I close my eyes and when I look at my hand, I had a big peyote there, as big as my hand. It was just sitting there, I said, "Look son, look what I got. Look at this peyote." He said, "Mama, I don't see anything there." But everytime I look, there it is. It was great peyote with green and with real pretty designs on it. And somehow it said, "Go ahead, use this and you could just do anything you want with it. You could just doctor anybody you want and they going to be alright. Right now you could doctor that one." But he didn't name anybody out. Come into my mind like that. "Right now you could just go out there and do as you please with this peyote. You infected with it so strong you could just raise a sick-bed man or woman or child. You could raise a dead man." It just came into my mind like that.

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Visitations from the Medicine Eagle

115 159 756 825 787 [533] Sanapia has had only two visitations from her supernatural eagle patron in her doctoring career. Both occurred during doctoring situations as a direct result of the singing of her Medicine song. Sanapia reports that her Medicine eagle looks like eagles she has seen in the wild except that it is much larger. She can feel her eagle's presence before she sees it. On the first occasion she felt a rush of air from its wings, and on the second it was a tingling sensation which announced the presence of the Medicine eagle. Sanapia states that when the eagle came to her, everything around her dissappeared with the resultant image: an eagle against a murky gray background. These visitations were very brief. During the eagle's apparition, it appeared to be hovering directly in front of her at a distance of about 4 or 5 feet. While the eagle was present, Sanapia trembled violently and perspired freely. She states that her heart beat very rapidly and she felt as if she was going to faint.

Contacts with the Supernatural

115 159 756 787 [775] Sanapia has provided herself with several contacts with the supernatural worlds. Since she cannot visit the other worlds, Sanapia must depend on these contacts to assist her in making her wishes known to the supernatural realms. Her comments concerning her Medicine song clearly identify the spirits of her mother and maternal uncle as her two major assistants. It should also be remembered that she considers her Medicine song as her most potent piece of doctoring paraphernalia. The spirit–man in her recurring real dreams is also a liaison or avenue of rapport between Sanapia and the supernatural, though in this case it is strictly a one-way phenomenon which is beyond Sanapia's control.

115 159 756 787 533 775 Sanapia's eagle comes to her only through the intercession of her mother and uncle via Sanapia's Medicine song. She associates her lack of courage in the final phase of her doctor training with her inability to call the eagle to her aid independently of her mother's and uncle's intercession. This is also the reason why Sanapia possesses only one Medicine song instead of the many which her mother and uncle possessed. In the final analysis, Sanapia can rarely act independently as a doctor; she must call on the assistance of her teachers. Therefore, instead of having many songs for summoning power, she has one. She must first call on her mother and uncle and then relate to them her wishes, which they, through their superior powers, actualize. Basically, then, Sanapia's real power is the control which she can exert over the powerful spirits of two *puhakuts*. However, this type of analysis is foreign to Sanapia. She prefers to think of herself as the pitiable supplicant.

115 159 756 787 755 Peyote is another important liaison with supernatural powers. The power she receives from peyote is the only power which she can manipulate entirely independently of the spirits of her mother and uncle. Still, the power of peyote is subordinate to the powers possessed by the spirits of her mother and uncle,

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and in her most difficult doctoring situations and in all her most criticial moments, it is to the spirits of her teachers that she turns for aid. 115 159 756 787 755

The Supernatural Universe

Sanapia's description of the supernatural universe is full of contradictory elements. This is not as great an obstacle to action as it may seem since she addresses each element individually as the situation demands. She has no need to attempt to grasp the entirety of this universe at once. Sanapia is able to select from her potpourri of supernaturalistic notions the ones which best suit a particular occasion. 115 159 756 775

She believes that living human beings share the earth with the ghosts, or malevolent spirits of deceased humans who, alive, led evil lives. The ghosts can enter into the world of men, but men cannot enter the world of ghosts except through death. Also, somewhere, neither in the plane of living man nor in the plane of ghost existence, is the realm of pure, unembodied supernatural power. Such entities as the sun, the earth, and the eagle are able to tap this power and thus possess it to a greater extent than can mortal men. Power can be acquired by men only through secondhand channels and never from its source. A mortal would be killed if exposed to pure power. The power, from its original source, is inexhaustible. 115 159 756 778

In yet another plane of existence are found the spirits of good men such as the disciples of Jesus and the spirits of Sanapia's mother and uncle. This realm is not quite like heaven, which is the abode of God and Jesus and the eternal home of those ordinary souls who have nothing to offer the world of the living, as do the spirits of Medicine men or the disciples of Jesus. Hell is somewhere deep in the earth. Sanapia believes that it is the special eternal home of evil white men. Her notions of the nature of hell follow the standard Christian concept. 115 159 756 775 776 772 177

Peyote is similar to the sun or the eagle in its ability to embody an extraordinary degree of supernatural power. However, unlike the sun or the eagle, peyote comes from the Christian God as a sign of his love for all Indian people. According to Sanapia, the sun has existed longer then the Christian God, and is therefore entirely self-sufficient. 115 159 756 755 778 776

Thus Sanapia can become more or less Christian, peyotist, or Plains shaman as varying situations present themselves. By not assigning a negative value to contradictory elements in her supernaturalistic universe and by oversimplifying the similarities, Sanapia possesses a flexibility which confounds any attempt to present a very cogent description of her "religion." If a key pervasive theme had to be chosen, it probably would be concerned with the idea of supernatural power and the desirability of its acquisition and control. 115 159 766 771 778

A Successor

At the present time Sanapia is beginning to consider the problem of a successor, for she feels that her doctoring career is rapidly approaching its final 115 159 756 593

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115 varied. Because of her supernatural powers and mercurial temperament, a certain
159 aloofness marks her relationship even with her friends. Only two old women,
157 women who grew up with Sanapia, seem to be able to overcome this barrier.
571 This aloofness is as much instigated by Sanapia as it is a reaction of others based on fear, or at least uneasiness in her presence.

Some Comanches exhibit a type of reaction to Sanapia which is interpreted by other Comanches as jealousy. Sanapia has a position and a skill which is denied to the majority of Comanches. Many of the younger and more acculturated though sympathetic Comanches consider her a likeable but eccentric old woman. She is considered ridiculous by many of the southern Comanches. Many Comanches, as well as neighboring Kiowas and Apaches, continue to represent her as sexually promiscuous, alcoholic, violent, and prone to excessive gambling. However, in all these cases her traditionalism and conservative Comanche beliefs are acknowledged, though they may be interpreted positively or negatively, depending on who is presenting the opinion.

A Kiowa woman offered the following opinion:

> She sure is a good old woman . . . pretty for an old woman too. I seen you with her bunch a lot so I guess you know what she is . . . what she does. I took my niece up to her once and she cared for her and got her well in a few days. I tell other people about how she took care of my little girl and they might go to see her if they get sick bad or if their family might get sick.

Another informant was less charitable in his evaluation:

> I don't know much about it. I've heard some of my people talking about an old woman who lives south from here. They say she can curse you if she wants to and make you sick. It's that woman you mention too. She supposed to be a bad one, but I never seen her. I don't believe that suff about curses myself but a lot of people . . . Indian people . . . do. You better watch out. They say she can do it.

Sanapia's Self-Concept

115 Sanapia is aware that some people laugh at her, and she does as much
159 as she can to eliminate this possibility, for she is an exceedingly proud woman.
156 Types of behavior which ostentatiously identify her as a *puhakut*, such as wearing a black kerchief or vocally demanding that others observe her tabu restrictions, are avoided by her for fear that others will think that she is "just a crazy old Indian."

Sanapia's opinion of herself remains quite high in spite of the pressures
115 that surround her. In the following account she describes how she brought a dead
159 niece back to life:
156
756
755 I was doctoring my niece one time . . . the doctor gave up on her. She had cancer and liver. So the doctor, white doctor, gave up. They dismissed her from the Indian hospital and she went home. Somebody came to our house that after-

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noon and told us that L——— was dying. The doctor gave up. I told my husband, "Let's go see her." And we beat it down there and it was about five o'clock, late that afternoon. It was cold. When we got there she was just lying on her back like that . . . nobody was in the house except her. Her husband was gone and her children were all gone. She was white as a sheet. Her face was just white and her lips were blue. She didn't even notice me come in. I wake her up and said, "Are you sleeping? What's the matter with you?" She said, "I'm dying . . . going to die tonight. That's what the doctor told me. They dismissed me from the hospital. I'm going to die either tonight or tomorrow . . . just any day. Could you help me?" That's what she said. And I told J———, "You go get your brothers. I'll get her out of it . . . that's nothing. That cancer ain't nothing to me." And he beat it down there to his brothers and they come in right after dark. That night we soaked that deer hide . . . soaked it in water till it could get soft and they put it on the drum. And right there in the middle of town . . . she got a home in the middle of town and a lot of white people living all around her house. So I said, "Let's have this peyote meeting for her tonight . . . drum all night. Let me fix her up. She be alright." And so that night we had a drumming right there in the middle of town. And she was worse the next morning. I said, "This is too noisy. I don't like to doctor anybody in noisy place. Let's take her home." So we load her up and brought her down here to our place. That night we had another peyote meeting inside of the house and it was just pouring down rain and we had the meeting for her. Took that peyote and said, "Our fathers, way back in years . . . our grandfathers took this medicine, and they said that whenever anybody sick like that you just take this and chew it and then put it in your hands and let her swallow it . . . give her four at the start." And I done that. I prayed and I talked to that peyote just like I'm talking to you. I said, "If you don't get her well, I don't want you. If you not nothing, if you ain't got power, I don't want to use you anymore." God made me in this world and he gave me this power just like when he was here on land. Jesus went around blessing people and healing the sick and everything like that and I believe that I got the power in my hands. I believe I could get her well. So that night we had a peyote meeting and the second night we had another one and the fourth night . . . the fourth night she died. She just went out. She was blue . . . fingernails were blue and her lips turn blue. I told them, "Take that drum hide out." And they took it, rinse it out, squeeze it, and I said, "Give it to me." And I put it on her head. I rub her face with it, and four times I done that to her and then I sing my Medicine song. When anybodys dying and I doctor them that's the only time I sing that special song I got. So I said, "You all carry her and put her on my bed," and they carried her. I said, "You all stay out there in the front room." And they all stayed out there and it was still pouring rain. Everybody get out. It was raining out there and the wind was howling around. I sing this song and I fan her and I doctor her . . . give her that medicine. I don't know how many times I give her that. And after awhile she open her eyes and said, "I'm sure thirsty." And after that she got alright.

Sanapia considers herself a slightly outmoded necessity in Comanche society. She knows that she represents an extremely ancient Comanche institution, and it is in that knowledge that her feeling of uniqueness rests; at the same time she can foresee the final end of her tradition. Many times, as we sat watching automobiles moving along a highway or observed the skyscrapers in Oklahoma City and Wichita, she would speak of the incongruity of herself and the twentieth-century world in which she lives.

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someone must pour a ladle of water over each of his hands four times. The one who pours the water over the hands of the one contaminated and who aids in the cedaring may be any person present except, of course, a small child or a menstruating woman.

Sanapia forbids children near her medicines because she feels that such close proximity could make a child sick, cause him bad luck, or possibly kill him. She is not quite sure why the medicine could hurt a child, but she is sure about another aspect of the danger which her medicines present to children. Her special and unique power is ghost Medicine. She feels that ghosts therefore hate her and are constantly attempting to harm her and those close to her. This means that they are very likely near her most of the time, especially when she is working her Medicine against them or the results of their activity. Though they cannot harm her or adults who have courage to resist them, they can harm children, who are naturally weaker than adults in courage and Medicine.

With respect to her aversion to the presence of menstruating women while she is doctoring or when her medicines are open, she can offer no specific rationale except that these were the instructions she received from her mother. The only possible explanation which she felt she could offer is that loss of blood means weakness, and weakness makes an individual more susceptible to illness caused by supernatural or natural means.

Wallace and Hoebel (1952:158) write that among the Comanche all medicine had to be protected against contamination by grease as well as the presence of menstruating women. It is interesting that Sanapia is not concerned about the possible ill effects of grease near her medicines. In fact, when directly questioned about her reaction if her medicines actually came in contact with grease, she replied that she would simply wipe it off.

Nonbotanical Medicines

Approximately half of the contents of Sanapia's medicine kit is composed of medicines of a nonbotanical nature.

Crow Feathers

Four tail feathers from a crow are tied at their base to form a loose bundle and are hung near the door of a house as a protective amulet against ghosts. Sanapia states that the power in the crow feathers is intrinsic to the feathers and does not depend on her handling of them to give them this capacity. She always utilizes this amulet when she doctors because of her belief that ghosts are especially numerous when she begins to make Medicine against them. This amulet, therefore, aids her to dispel ghosts and acts to protect the house and its occupants from the evil designs of the angered ghosts.

Sanapia could offer no explanation as to why the ghost should fear these feathers. A Kiowa informant, who uses crow feathers in much the same manner as Sanapia, explained that ghosts sometimes appear at night as owls. The crow and the owl are natural enemies. By using crow feathers in this manner, one is en-

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listing the crow's aid against the owls or ghosts. Sanapia, however, does not share her Kiowa and Apache neighbor's aversion to owls. 778 237 775

> You know, these Apaches sure are crazy. They get scared of them owls . . . they might hear them holler or something. It ain't nothing but a funny bird. A bird can't hurt nobody and they think it's a ghost. 171 [825]

Glass Slivers

Slivers of glass, usually obtained from broken beer bottles, are used by Sanapia whenever a certain treatment calls for the making of incisions in the flesh. This operation is almost always immediately succeeded by the use of the sucking horn or by suction applied by mouth. 756 755 757

Several examples will adequately explain the function of these slivers of brown glass. For both a severe headache and extreme vertigo the same procedure is followed. Minute cuts are made at either temple, in the middle of the forehead, and immediately below the hairline at the nape of the neck. These incisions are approximately one-sixteenth of an inch in length and penetrate only deep enough to produce a blood flow. The sucking horn is applied after all the cuts have been made, and sucking is continued from point to point around the head until both Sanapia and the patient are satisfied with the results.

Sanapia believes that "bad blood," or "foamy stuff," causing pressure in the head area is the cause of both conditions. To relieve the symptoms, the blood or foamy stuff, must be removed. The same notion of pain caused by the pressure of expanding foamy stuff stimulates the use of the cutting operation in the treatment of swollen joints, which Sanapia calls "rheumatism" in the absence of evidence indicating breaks or sprains. [753]

Sanapia specifies the use of only brown glass in an attempt to imitate her mother. The mother utilized what, from Sanapia's description, appear to have been brown flintlike slivers as cutting tools in doctoring. Sanapia does not know how to obtain "cutting rocks" so she employs brown glass as a close approximation.

Sucking Horn

Sanapia's sucking horn is a 4-inch section of the horn casing of a variety of domestic cattle found in her vicinity. The 4-inch section is cut from the point or extremity of the horn. This piece of horn is usually drilled and scoured to develop a clear opening from the tip of the segment of horn, which will be used as the mouthpiece, to the termination of the horn or area of widest diameter, which will be the point of application when the horn is employed in doctoring. [237]

This item is used when the treatment calls for Sanapia to attempt to suck sickness from the body of her patient. She recalls that when she was young, the sucking horn was used very little by the Comanche doctors which she had the opportunity to observe. If the treatment called for suction, the doctor employed his mouth. Sanapia believes that it was with the advent of the white man and his teaching that many diseases are spread and caught via the mouth that Comanche doctors began to depend more on the sucking horn in an effort to keep their mouth from contact with the patient. [177]

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Charcoal from a Peyote Drum

Before the drumhead is attached to the drum used in the ceremonies of the Native American Church, the drum body is filled approximately one-third full with water. Several small pieces of charcoal from any source immediately available are placed in the water, and the head is then attached. The charcoal and water play important parts in the morning rituals held at the close of Comanche peyote meetings. Both the water and the charcoal are considered blessed by their presence in the meeting and are thought to possess certain sacred qualities. Because of the power which Sanapia feels pervades the charcoal from the peyote drum, she considers this charcoal desirable as a medicine.

The charcoal from the drum is given to Sanapia after peyote meetings which have been held on her property. She uses these fragments in several ways. To contain the movement or spread of any kind of pain or to prohibit the spread of swelling caused by such conditions as snakebite or sprains, she encloses the afflicted area in a circle drawn on the patient's skin with this charcoal. Also, in doctoring a particularly difficult case, she sometimes rubs this charcoal on her palms to supplement her power.

White Otter Fur

Sanapia learned the use of a type of fur, which she states comes from a white otter, as a medicine from a Shoshone woman during one of her visits to the Wind River Shoshone communities around Fort Washakie, Wyoming. This is specificically used to treat illnesses in infants, which are felt to be localized in the infant's head. Sanapia cuts a small square from this pelt and places it on live coals. As the smoke rises from this smoldering fur, she holds the infant over the coals and moves him through the rising smoke four times. This medicine smoke is believed to enter the infant's head, where it's curative qualities work their effects. An Arapaho-Comanche uncle of Sanapia states that weasel tails are also used in this manner by the Comanches.

Porcupine Quills

Porcupine quills are used in the treatment of children in much the same manner as white fur. Four of the quills are deposited on coals. The infant is then passed through the rising smoke four times. Sanapia states:

> Sometimes they say kids get lonesome . . . when they sick, they just lonesome. Those stickers are good for that. They have medicine to help little children when I use them.

Bone Medicine

Sanapia calls this medicine *piamupits*, which she translates as "big old giant." She also refers to it as *tsunbip*, a Comanche word for "bone." Wallace and Hoebel (1952:171) write concerning this medicine:

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The madstone, or medicine bone was used for wounds, infections, boils, and pains. It was a small piece of leg bone of the giant prehistoric mammoth believed by the Comanches to be the bones of *piamampits*—the cannibal owl. Placed over the affected spot, it was supposed to draw out the poison. 756 755 237

Sanapia offers the following description of what *piamupits* was supposed to have looked like. 756 755 825

> It look like a man . . . big, old monster. They said it got a face like a man. It's got hair all over its body and it got big feet. It's tall, you know. They die of old age, I guess. They be way out there somewhere and just sit there and die. Just after awhile dirt just covering them up, and they go under ground like that. That's where they find this medicine up to today.

Sanapia grinds this medicine, which she calls "bone medicine," into a powder and mixes it with water to form a dilute medicinal solution. She sometimes simply wets the piece of bone and applies it to the afflicted area of the body. Bone medicine is used to strengthen bones and is especially effective in the treatment of sprains. Sanapia does not mention its use in the treatment of boils, wounds, or infections. 756 755 237 278

The Bible

Sanapia carries a Bible with her most of the time, and it is always present when she doctors. Before beginning treatment she holds the Bible in both hands before her and prays for power. 756 755 779

> I really read bible lots, and I go by the bible when I'm doctoring too. I always ask God to give power to my hands and mind. I pray hard to the Holy Ghost. I learned that bible while I was at Cache Creek school. My mother didn't go by the bible when she doctoring, but I do, because you got to ask God for help sometimes.

Medicine Feather

Sanapia's Medicine feather is the tail feather from a golden eagle. She employs it in every case she doctors, and of all the items which she carries when she doctors, this is the most revered. The feather is used to ceremonially "fan" her patient at various points during the course of treatment and as a general prop in her doctoring performances. It is always cedared before and after use. 756 755 237 825 778

"Fanning" is an act of blessing as well as a strictly curative act when performed by Sanapia. When it is being used as a tool in the doctoring procedure, she employs the feather to waft the smoke from certain smoldering medicines over her patient. At times though, during treatment and always immediately after treatment, Sanapia lightly taps the patient with her Medicine feather around the face and head, making four passes over the face and forehead and four passes over the back of the head. She then taps four times on each arm with a fanning motion. This is proceeded by four fanlike taps on the chest and back and four

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fanning passes over the front and back of the body from the waist down. Sanapia prays that her patient may live a long, healthy life as she fans him and that all evil will be blown away from the patient by the motion of the feather. She explains that she has the power of the eagle; and when she touches a person with her Medicine feather, it is as if the eagle were touching them, instilling in them some of its Medicine. Her feather carries with it the tabus associated with her other medicine articles. However, a specific emphasis was placed by her mother on the prohibition of taking the Medicine feather into a room or area in which there is a large group of people.

> That eagle got some kind of power that I use for Medicine. I got one eagle feather, and it is really powerful, that thing. And I believe it. I done many works with that feather. I believe it.

Indian Lard

"Indian lard" is the name Sanapia applies to tallow or rendered beef fat. She uses it as a general purpose salve, though she states that it is especially efficacious in the treatment of severe burns. Also, it is her only remedy for constipation. Two or three tablespoonsful of lukewarm liquified tallow are administered to a patient with constipation.

Mouth Wash

The majority of cases which Sanapia treats involve the sucking operation. When the sucking is completed, Sanapia requires something to kill the "poison" and the disagreeable taste which is left in her mouth. Her mother used kerosene; however, Sanapia prefers a commercial brand of mouth wash and carries a small bottle of it in her medicine kit.

Red Paint

The red paint used by Sanapia is obtained by grinding and powdering a dark red clay which she finds west of Geary, Oklahoma. The paint is reconstituted by mixing it with water or tallow.

The paint is ever present in all of her blessing ceremonies. She also uses this paint at the termination of her treatment of ghost sickness. On the last day of treatment, she paints the patient's face, lower arms, and lower legs. The patient is instructed to wear the paint for two days before washing it off.

Sanapia states that painting is a prayer to the earth. The red paint is obtained from the earth and is the color of the earth. When she applies it to her patient she is asking the earth to care for him.

> The earth . . . talk to it like a mother. They call it that. Say "Watch this man, or woman, or child. They walking on you, same color as you, they you child. You can see that. Watch out for them during the long time they got to be on you."

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Black Kerchief

Sanapia keeps most of her medicines wrapped in pieces of black material which are commercially sold as women's head scarfs. These large black squares of cloth are also used by some males as Western-style ties. When Sanapia is traveling without her medicine kit, though carrying her Medicine feather, she keeps it wrapped in a black kerchief. 756 755 278

The black kerchief, worn knotted at the throat, is a customary sign among the Comanches and neighboring tribes of a possessor of Medicine. Sanapia was instructed to always wear the black kerchief as a symbol of her powers. She does not wear this badge today for fear of ridicule. Sanapia does, however, keep a black kerchief tied to the headboard of her bed. She states that black is the color of luck and good fortune. She also adds that it indicates to ghosts that the wearer is not afraid of their powers. 756 292 [822] [775]

The black kerchief, or piece of black cloth, can be used in doctoring to cover the patient's face when he is instructed to inhale medicine smoke. Sanapia sometimes uses the black kerchief in this manner during the doctoring of ghost sickness. 756 755

115 142 291 302 516

Sanapia collecting medicines, 1967.

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824

Botanical Medicines: Collection, Preparation, and Dosage

Sanapia collects her botanical medicines from their natural habitat in the late fall and early winter. She feels that by this late date the rattlesnakes, of which she has a morbid fear, will be less numerous. More importantly, she feels that plants are not completely matured until immediately before their death at the first frost of fall.

> I don't know how you could get any medicines in the spring. Just full grown is when they any good. That's when I get it. Rattlesnakes be gone too. In the fall they be already to get. Go get them when its cool, now its no good because it's summer. Too hot and too many snakes around. Plants aren't good now anyway for medicine.

The root is the most important source of medicine on any plant, according to Sanapia. She seldom utilizes other parts of a plant, but it is noteworthy that when she does, the part she uses is in almost every instance the top of the plant. [778] Sanapia feels that the two most important sources of power for a medicine [778] plant are the earth and the sun. She uses this rationale to explain her use of only the extreme top of plants, the part nearest the sun, and the extremity most surrounded by earth, the root. Peyote and cedar are notable exceptions to this scheme.

[755]
[757]

Bottom, left to right: medicine cedar, sucking horn, bakumak. *Top, left to right: peyote, glass slivers,* bekwinatsu.

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Sanapia refers to all other varieties of *Juniperus* as *taiβowa:pi*, or "white man cedar." She uses the dried and pulverized root to make a decoction which is internally administered to treat menstrual complaints. However, to Sanapia, the dried and rubbed leaves of the cedar are the most important parts of the plant. She sprinkles them on live coals, which are always formed from pecan twigs, to produce a thick aromatic smoke which is inhaled by patients suffering from ghost sickness, vertigo, or severe headache. The cedar smoke is also fanned over an individual by Sanapia in her blessing ceremony, a prominent aspect of all her doctoring activities. She uses the cedar medicine smoke in any instance when she is called upon to dispel the influences of the ghosts. When she is commissioned to ritually cleanse a house in which a death has recently occurred, she employs cedar smoke as a central core in this activity. When an individual is plagued by thoughts of a deceased relative, Sanapia prescribes a fumigation of the home with cedar smoke. She also strongly urges "cedaring" of the sleeping area before retiring at night.

> Only use that red berry kind . . . get it on those slick hills west of here. They say when you use that cedar and they smell it, it blows all that bad stuff and pain away from you with that smoke. It keeps you well, and you won't ever be scared or nothing. Lot of different ways it help you like that. It's green, and its living all the time. In winter, summer, anytime. I don't care when. It's got Medicine for that. That's why I use it.

natsa°ksi

"sneezing medicine" *Helinium microcephalum* (sneezeweed)

This plant is collected in the early fall. The flowers are detached and allowed to dry. When dried, the flowers are crushed and inhaled through the nose to produce the desired violent sneezing.

Sneezing medicine is administered to patients suffering from heart "flutter," low blood pressure, and head and nasal congestion. In Sanapia's opinion, the sneezing stimulated by this medicine keeps the heart beating steadily and strongly, thus maintaining the proper blood pressure. Also, she has the notion that in old age the heart becomes loosened from the cavity in which it is supposed to be housed. The violent sneezing caused by this medicine is capable of shocking the heart back into its proper position.

For those suffering from sinus congestion or head colds, Sanapia makes a very effective "inhaler" out of a small bottle or can. The container is half filled with the sneezing medicine. The patient is directed to shake the container, remove the lid, and inhale the dust when he is suffering from head congestion. Sanapia got the idea for her inhaler from commercials for cold remedies which she has seen on television. Many of her ideas concerning the nature of head and chest congestion and especially colds stem from notions absorbed from viewing television commercials. She uses terms like "bronmicha" for "bronchial" and "simus" for "sinus." The bronmicha is everything in the chest cavity except the lungs and

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278 heart. Her idea of the location of the sinus cavities is essentially correct, though
824 she does not understand their function.
755
759
[77]
[137] "red bean" *Sophora secundiflora* (mescal bean)

ekɔpa

Sanapia grinds the mescal bean to the consistency of granulated sugar and then boils this coarse powder, which she first wraps in a makeshift cloth bag. When the decoction has reached the desired brownish coloration, it is strained through another piece of cloth, and the liquid is used as eardrops in the doctoring
[84] of earaches and sores deep in the ear. Sanapia reports that her maternal uncle, a
[783] *puhakut*, would sew mescal beans into the cuffs of his trousers as protection against possible contamination from menstrual blood.

puiisatene

[137] "eye scraper" *Elymus sp.* (rye grass)

Sanapia uses a single looped blade of this grass as a filelike tool in the removing of "cataracts" (trichoma). She describes this treatment as follows:

> You take that and double it up and turn the eye lid over and scrape it just as easy as you can. Then you just scrape it and scrape it until it bleeds . . . that thing on there bleeds. Well, you just keep on scraping until it finally comes off. Its the eye lid that causes cataracts because those things rub on the eye and make them sores. You got to scrape the eye. Put sugar water on it after you scrap it. It makes it feel better. Put sugar on after that thing stops bleeding.

kunɔnatsu

[137] "fire medicine" *Zanthoxylum americanum* (prickly ash)

An infusion is made from the root of this plant and used for the treatment
[752] of fever. The powdered root is also used in the treatment of toothache and burns. For toothaches, the powder is wrapped in a piece of cloth and this tiny bundle of medicine is placed next to the afflicted tooth. The medicine promotes a numbing in the mouth. In the treatment of burns, the powder is sprinkled dry on the burn. The term "fire medicine" stems from the burning sensation which this medicine causes when it contacts an open wound.

bakuma[k]

[137] "in the water" *Iris sp.* (iris)

This plant is an unidentified variety of *Iris* which is not native to Sanapia's home area of Comanche County, Oklahoma. Sanapia utilizes a decoction of the root in the treatment of colds, upset stomache, and sore throat.

bakuma[k] is the only medicine plant whose locale of growth is to some extent controlled by Sanapia. Her mother transplanted a number of these plants

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to a spring near Sanapia's home, and Sanapia makes an effort in her collection of this plant to never totally deplete the planting made by her mother. 278 824

This *Iris* is very similar to a variety which is found in eastern Oklahoma, significantly in an area of high Creek Indian population density. The Comanches and the Creeks have had close ties since the late nineteenth century (Wallace and Hoebel 1952:304), and Sanapia remembers traveling with her mother to eastern Oklahoma to visit Creek acquaintances. It is possible that Sanapia's mother could have learned of the medicinal qualities of this plant from the Creeks and brought back a collection to her home in Comanche County. The peculiar characteristics of the variety of *Iris* which Sanapia uses as medicine could have resulted from natural modifications stimulated through time by this change in environment. 755 757 177

pɔbɔβi

"white sage" *Artemisia ludoviciana* (lobed cudweed; gray sage) 137

Sanapia employs the leaves of the gray sage in treatment of insect and spider bites. She chews the leaves and rubs the resulting moist pulp over the area of bites to relieve itching and swelling. 752

ɛsipɔbɔβi

"sweet smelling sage" *Poliomentha incana* (sweet sage) 137

This medicine plant comes from the area of the Mescalero Apache reservation in southeastern New Mexico. It is obtained for Sanapia by Fort Sill Apaches who have ties with the Mescalero.

In a doctoring situation when Sanapia must apply her mouth to the afflicted area of the patient's body in an attempt to suck the sickness from the patient, she chews a small piece of sweet sage and retains it in her mouth with the masticated medicine which is being specifically employed at the time. She states that the sweet sage acts to sweeten the usually bitter taste which results from this type of procedure. Sweet sage, in certain circumstances, is also added to *bekwinatsu* (to be discussed) to increase its potency. It is also added to various medicinal "teas" to make them more palatable to the patients.

During Comanche peyote meetings held on Sanapia's property, it was pointed out that the leafy cushion upon which the Chief Peyote rested was made of sweet sage. The sweet sage used in the peyote meeting is particularly valued by Sanapia as a medicine since it gains an added potency through its contact with the Chief Peyote.

bekwinatsu

"swelling medicine" *Matelea biflora* or *cynanchoides* (recumbent milkweed) 137

This is one of Sanapia's major medicines and one of the three plants which she attributes with some degree of intrinsic supernatural potential. The other two medicines so considered are peyote and cedar. 778

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278 824 755 757 A decoction of the thick white root is externally administered in the treatment of ghost sickness, bruises, bone breaks, and menstrual cramps. A paste made from the root is used to coat the finger during the treatment of "poking the throat." This procedure is usually initiated in the case of children with diphtheria or other conditions which are acting to close the throat passage. Sanapia applies the paste to her index finger and lightly probes the child's throat to the extent of her finger's reach. This same paste is used as a liniment in all cases of severe stomach pains. In addition, Sanapia spews from her mouth a very dilute decoction of this medicine on patients suffering from ghost sickness.

There is more ritual activity involved with the collection of *bekwinatsu* [783] than with any other plant medicine which Sanapia utilizes. Upon approaching the area in which the plant will be collected, Sanapia recites a short prayer.

> Well, I tell it that I'm coming to take it way with me. I say that I need you help peoples that got twisted face . . . what them ghosts do to peoples, you know. Then I tell it that I'm going to give it something in return. I supposed to put a piece of green goods over its branche before I dig it out. Sometimes I do and sometimes I don't. Sometimes I'm in a hurry so I don't do that, but that's what I'm supposed to do, that's what my uncle told me to do.

When she approaches the plant, she situates herself to the west of the plant and drapes a small strip of dark green cloth over the spindly branches. She then digs the plant from the ground, detaches the long root, and deposits the remainder of the plant over the hole from which it was extracted with the strip of green cloth attached to one of the branches.

sanawiba

[137] "yellow flowers"; "makes knife sticky" (broomweed) *Guitierrezia dracunculoides*

Sanapia uses this plant medicine for the treatment of exzema and rashes when prepared as she describes.

> Get the tops . . . the flowers . . . and boil them into a jelly. Now, when anybody got excema, you just wrap it on . . . put it on a rag and wrap it on there. Use the tops . . . just tops. Boil them good and when they cool down, they get just like jelly. That jelly is what you use for medicine.

kutiwana

"it's gray" [No specimen]

This is one of Sanapia's major medicines. It is used as an addition to many medicinal preparations to increase their potency. An infusion made from the root is also used as a sedative in the absence of peyote or concomitantly with peyote. It is specifically used, however, in the treatment of "fits" (epilepsy?) and as the main medicine employed in the treatment of witch victims.

When used to treat fits, the splintered root is boiled to a tea, and the

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patient is liberally dosed with this decoction until the symptoms subside. According to Sanapia, this root is unusually hard and therefore difficult to prepare for use as a medicine. However, she considers its extreme hardness as a positive quality since she associates hardness with compactness; therefore, she feels there is more medicine to a piece of *kusiwɔna* than there would be to practically any other medicine of equal size.

In the treatment of victims of witchcraft, a decoction of this root is utilized in several different ways. It can be made into a thick paste which is applied to an area of minute incisions which are made by Sanapia with slivers of glass before she begins to suck from the victim the magically toxic feather which has been introduced into the victim's body by the witch. The decoction can also be drunk by the patient, or it can be spewed on him by Sanapia in the course of treatment.

do:ltsa

[No translation] [No specimen]

Sanapia obtains this medicine from Shoshone friends who live on the Fort Washakie reservation in central Wyoming. She utilizes the thick root of this plant, without modification, as a medicine to induce appetite and stimulate weight gain. A decoction made from this root is also used in the treatment of tuberculosis.

From Sanapia's description of *do:ltsa* and its properties, it could be suggested that this plant is *Perideridia gairdneri*, a wild caraway, called *yap* by the Comanches (Kearney 1951:615). Since Sanapia first acquired this medicine from an Arapaho uncle, who in turn suggested to her certain Shoshone as further sources for it, the name which she uses may well be Arapaho, Shoshone, or Sanapia's Comanche-ized corruption of an Arapaho or Shoshone word which is applied to this plant.

bɔ:tatat

"looks like feathers" [No specimen]

This medicine, like sweet sage, is obtained for Sanapia by Fort Sill Apaches from the Mescalero country. The fruiting body is made into an infusion which is internally administered in the treatment of tuberculosis, various stomach complaints, and postnatal hemorrhaging. A thick paste is prepared from these fruiting bodies and applied as a liniment to the chest and throat of those suffering from pneumonia. No specimen would be obtained. However, from Sanapia's description, *Agoseris* might be suggested as a highly probably genus affiliation.

oinatsu

"vomit medicine" [No specimen]

Sanapia reports but one use for this medicine plant. A decoction of the root is taken internally by patients afflicted with asthma or chest congestion. The described results are quite spectacular.

278 824 755 757 You just give them a cup full of this, and another cup, and another, and another . . . they just be filled up with that medicine. Sit around for ten or fifteen minutes and that medicine just goes in their stomach and stirs up all that fluid, whatever it is. When you got asthma, you got all those bronmicha [sic] tubes filled with slobber. That medicine takes it out. It comes out by itself, you don't have to vomit or nothing . . . through the mouth . . . comes right out. Some of it comes through the nose too. It runs out fast and they get well. You don't have to treat them another day longer.

itse

[No translation] [No specimen]

This medicine comes from the Mescalero Apache region and is obtained from the same sources which supply Sanapia with *ba:tasas* and *ɛsipobɔβi*. Dr. Harry W. Basehart of the University of New Mexico, who has done field research among the Mescalero, states the word *itse* is very similar to a Mescalero word which means "mystical influence." Mrs. Julia A. Jordon made a similar suggestion based [177] on her experience with the Kiowa-Apache of Oklahoma. There is a strong possibility, then, that this word has been borrowed from Apache into Comanche.

The part of the plant which is utilized as medicine seems to be from [752] Sanapia's description, a fruiting body. The plant is chiefly used as a remedy for [825] the bites of rattlesnakes and as a rattlesnake repellent. Sanapia describes how she uses it as a snake repellent for her son:

> When he goes to the field, like now, I have it boiled and I just rub it on his leg like that and then a cloth and pour it on and tie it around his boots . . . pour it all on there. Now if there's a rattlesnake running right there, he right up on him, but he won't jump him. He smells that and he just lay low. It'll kill that snake right now. I don't know how it does it. That medicine is really strong. A rattlesnake ain't going to smell it. They going to die if they smell it.

Sanapia recalls that she saw old people among the Comanche carry it in small cloth sacks tied to their belts or around their ankles in order to repel snakes. [752] In the case of snake bite, the *itse* is chewed to a pulpy consistency and spread over the fang punctures, or it is retained in the mouth of the one who attempts to suck the poison from the wound. It is also used in this manner for the bites of poisonous spiders and scorpions.

In addition, Sanapia boils it into a thick broth for patients suffering from pneumonia. She notes that one of *itse*'s interesting characteristics is that it causes excessive salivation, and she therefore employs it when she must induce salivation in a patient.

oxidobeda

[137] "peyote" *Lophophora williamsii* (peyote)

Peyote is Sanapia's most utilized general medicine, and in her opinion its curative properties can aid in healing any type of human physical affliction. She grinds and pounds the dried buttons to a powder which is then boiled or

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steeped to produce a decoction or infusion of the desired consistency and coloration, or she employs the powdered peyote buttons alone. She also makes a medicinal relish from the green peyote buttons. In many cases the peyote is left unaltered and used in its dried or green state.

As mentioned, Sanapia can involve peyote in the treatment of any type of illness. Peyote is used mainly by Sanapia as a painkiller and sedative. It can be prepared in numerous ways. To quiet pain, Sanapia gives the patient four peyote buttons to eat, in most cases by chewing them first. For colds, pneumonia, and internal disorders, a decoction or infusion of peyote, commonly called "peyote tea," is administered.

When treating ghost sickness, Sanapia manipulates peyote in several ways. The patient is given four buttons to act as a sedative. During treatment Sanapia puts some dilute peyote tea in her mouth, releases a portion of it into her hands, and applies this to the affected portions of the patient's face. While retaining some of the solution in her mouth, she applies her mouth to the patient's face. She may also spew this thin decoction over the patient if she believes this type of procedure would be efficacious.

She applies thin, latitudinal, coinlike slices of the peyote button in the treatment of arthritis, severe headaches, heart pains, and in any relatively localized area of pain. Of course, a liquid preparation of peyote can also be administered in these conditions. The exact manner of administration and preparation of all medicines is determined by Sanapia through experience and inspiration.

Sanapia carries several peyote buttons with her at all times. She considers this her minimal doctoring kit. Peyote is extremely important to Sanapia as a medicine. However, she feels that her powers make her superior to the peyote. She states that peyote is the most powerful of all plant medicines. It is also one of the few medicines which Sanapia talks to and the only one which she threatens.

tɔpinatsu

"rock medicine"

This medicine is not a botanical item. I include it under the section on botanical medicines for several reasons. Sanapia feels that rock medicine is totally composed of plant parts. Also, at times she speaks of it "growing on rocks."

Tɔpinatsu is the word which Sanapia applies to the gummy, amber-colored matrix produced by a variety of mason bee as the basic material for its egg depositories. This solitary bee affixes these irregularly shaped cases, which are usually between ½ and 1 inch in diameter and approximately one-fourth of an inch thick, to rocks and then proceeds to camouflage the case by inserting local grains of sand and pieces of gravel into the sticky matrix of the case. It is from the resulting rocklike appearance that the medicine gains its Comanche name. Sanapia describes its composition:

> Some little bitty bugs get gum from the cedars on them slick hills. Then they take bites from the yellow flowers on them broomweeds, and some sage

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278 824 too. Put it in their bodies and mix it up so they can stick it on these rocks like you can see. That's why this medicine works best with cedar.

237 755 757 Rock medicine is only used in conjunction with cedar. Both are deposited on live coals to produce medicine smoke. The *tɔpinatsu* sputters when placed on the coals and produces a thick white smoke which is not unlike cedar smoke in [754] odor, though more pungent. This medicine's major use is in the treatment of ghost sickness and the results of witchcraft.

Sanapia picks the tiny pebbles and grains of sand from the *tɔpinatsu* and forms the then-translucent amber-colored gum into a ball about an inch in diameter. She rolls the ball between her palms and the heat and friction polish it to a glassy brown-gold color. It is in this form that it is utilized as medicine.

There is a medicine similar in kind to *tɔpinatsu* which Sanapia reports is found in the vicinity of Wichita Falls, Texas. The Comanche word for it, according to Sanapia, means "rats make it." It is described as being of the same composition as *tɔpinatsu*; however, instead of being produced by "little bugs," it is believed to be produced by pack rats. The gummy substance is melted in hot water, and persons suffering from paralysis, other than the kind caused by ghosts, are bathed in this concoction. This medicine, unmelted, is also applied directly to the area of paralysis. Sanapia remembers that her mother used this medicine; however, it was not transferred to Sanapia when she became a doctor.

278 824 755 757 [844] [303] Another medicine plant of which Sanapia has knowledge, but which was not transmitted by her mother to her, is one which, when mixed *bekwinatsu*, was administered as a sedative to women in protracted labor. The seeds of this plant were utilized as medicine when boiled into a medicinal decoction. Sanapia also states that the seeds of this plant augment the attractive aroma of Indian perfume (*Monarda fistulosa*) when the two are mixed and moistened.

I can just sit here and look at them bald prairies and see four kinds of medicines growing. I bet you can't even see them? Not many . . . even of my people, up to today, can even see them growing early in the spring. I can because I've learned that way. There's lots of plants that can get you well, but they ain't many people who even know that anymore.

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775 smoked for pleasure, but never casually; and when smoking ceremonially, it was
756 an oath, a signature to an agreement, a pledge on the part of the smoker" (1952:
276 180). After Sanapia has taken the cigarette, thus agreeing to the contract, the
775 patient places the green cloth in front of her and lays the Bull Durham and the
756 corn shuck leaves on the cloth.
465 Sanapia states that the requirement of the piece of dark green cloth follows from the nature of the major medicine which she employs in the treatment of ghost sickness. This type of payment can no doubt be connected with the ritual involved in her collection of *bekwinatsu*, or "swelling medicine." It is necessary for Sanapia to pay the plant with a piece of green cloth before extracting it from the earth.

> The medicine I use, that swelling medicine, got green leaves. The cloth goes with that. That's what the meaning of the dark green goods supposed to be. It stand for that, you might say. That kind of medicine get them well and they paying for it.

775 When Sanapia has accepted the cigarettte and taken the required four
756 puffs, she says to the patient, "Tell me your troubles." The patient then begins
755 to inform Sanapia of the specific reasons that he has sought her aid and generally to unburden himself concerning any and all varieties of "trouble" which he is experiencing. According to Sanapia, this patient monologue can continue for several hours. It is during this outpouring that Sanapia makes her diagnosis or decides exactly what course of action she will pursue regarding the patient.

Sanapia's doctoring ethics forbid her to divulge anything about which a patient has spoken to her. Many of Sanapia's expatients were aware of this fact or were advised of it by their liaisons, and they mentioned "how good it was to talk to that old lady." The patient has a rare opportunity to speak to an old and therefore, it is assumed, wise woman and to know that her supernatural sanctions forbid her to repeat anything she has been told. They are able to gain the counsel of a woman who has had many years experience in listening to these confidential disclosures. The patient also knows that because of the nature of the doctor–patient relationship, Sanapia will only pity him and offer sympathy. It would be considered impolite and improper if Sanapia censured her patient for anything he might say during his monologue.

> What they tell me I ain't supposed to tell anybody. It is so sad sometimes to listen to them. They say horrible things sometimes, but I guess that's because they sick peoples. But they come here and I can get them well. I've helped many people that way.

The psychotherapeutic tenor of Sanapia's doctoring is illustrated by the fact that she bases her diagnosis upon the nature of the emotional ventilation of the patient during his rambling monologue. She does not recognize that she bases her diagnosis on the content of the patient's disclosures but only that she makes her diagnosis after this occurrence. However, it is obvious from the material

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which has been presented and the material still to be presented that Sanapia is very aware of the psychological factor in illness and the necessity of treating psychological as well as physiological symptoms in a patient.

Treatment of Ghost Sickness

Immediately after this first interview, Sanapia instructs the patient to bathe in the stream which flows west of her house and to change his clothes. The actual treatment will begin after sunrise on the day following the first interview. Between this time and the time of the initiation of treatment, the patient is treated as a guest of Sanapia's household. During this time Sanapia sharpens her first diagnosis by a more thorough examination of the patient. Continual bathing is the only activity which is required of the patient. Since Sanapia will have to apply her mouth to the patient in her doctoring, she instructs him to wash often so he will be as clean as possible when Sanapia begins treatment. The notion of the magical effect of water is also probably present, though Sanapia never directly alluded to this.

Sanapia will doctor her patient three times daily for a period of two days. The treatment will be given at sunrise, midday, and sunset. By the morning of the third day the patient should be cured. Sanapia then blesses him, and the patient is dismissed. If, by the morning of the third day, the patient is not well, Sanapia continues her doctoring through another series of six treatments. After four days if the patient shows no sign of improvement, Sanapia will concede that she has failed in her attempts to cure her patient and will suggest either that he go to the white doctors in Lawton to obtain any comfort which they can supply or that he resign himself to his impending death. However, Sanapia states that even if she knows that her patient is going to die, she will usually not tell him because, as she says, "I can't stand to look at them when I have to say that to them. It makes me feel just so bad that I can't do it." Sanapia's ability to foretell the death of a patient is not solely based on her developed skills at prognosticating from the individual's physical condition. She states that she hears a voice which tells her that absolutely nothing can be done to save her patient.

> I hear, "He's dead right now, he's dead right now." And I know they going to die. I know that part too. They would get up and sit up and talk and walk. Well, they eat their food and drink water and they feel good. But I know that's the last meal they going to have. That's the last drink they going to have.

Before sunrise on the day that she will begin treatment and before she awakens her patient, Sanapia selects and prepares the medicines she will use. She then ties them in a cloth bundle, for she will take them with her when she, accompanied by her patient, goes to make her prayers with the rising sun. She then awakens her patient, prepares his breakfast, and takes him to a secluded place on a small knoll south of her house. It is still dark when they walk to the selected place of prayer. Sanapia sits facing east with her patient beside her. She

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775 then unwraps her medicines and exposes them on the cloth in which they were
755 wrapped.
756 Both Sanapia and her patient smoke Bull Durham tobacco wrapped in corn
782 shucks as they wait for the sun to rise. Sanapia prays to the earth immediately
[276] before sunrise, and when the sun appears, she directs her prayers to it.

> In the morning, before the sun come up, you go out away from the house, where nobody can hear you and you pray. You touch the ground with your hands, four times, and say . . . I don't know where it came from, but you say, "Mother earth, I want you to take my words. I want you to do what I want. I'm walking over you. I live on you, and I love you because you're my land." Say things like that to it. That sun not up yet. But it's the big eagle . . . talk to it like it's eagle . . . think of it like that, you know. It's going to fly up pretty soon when the sun comes up, and that's the eagle going to do everything I want.

776 The sun and the earth were the two greatest sources of power in the
821 nomadic Comanche culture. Wallace and Hoebel (1952:190) write that ". . . only
823 the sun, moon, and earth were looked upon as semi-dieties." They were also personified and addressed in prayer. The earth was considered second only to the sun in supernatural importance by the Comanches; however, though they were active in the affairs of men, neither the sun nor the earth gave personal power (Wallace and Hoebel 1952:195–197). Also in the content of the pages just cited are numerous mentions of the earth being addressed as "mother" by the Comanches. Kardiner (1945:63), when discussing Comanche beliefs associated with magic and power, writes: "The greatest powers were the earth, and the sun, with which the eagle was felt to be associated."

775 When the sun appears over the horizon, Sanapia begins her prayers in
755 which she will ask "the eagle" to aid her in healing her patient. The patient,
756 seated beside her, is instructed to pray for his recovery and to put his faith and
782 trust in the powers of the earth and sun. She also indicates her medicines, exposed to the sun, and asks that it will fill them with power.

This period of prayer, first to the earth and then to the rising sun, lasts
[372] about half an hour, or until the sun has completely cleared the horizon. Sanapia then takes her patient back to her house, where her hubsnd or son have already prepared the pecan wood coals which Sanapia will need when she begins to doctor.
[824] Pecan coals are desired because they form long-burning, even coals. At this time
237 she will attach her crow feather amulet to a beam on her front porch. She some-
[778] times affixes several crow feathers to her patient's wrist.

As mentioned previously, in doctoring, Sanapia is alone with her patient.
775 If she is in a tent or tepee, she sits on the south side of the tent, which is custom-
755 arily facing east, and positions her patient directly in front of her. He lies on his
756 back with his head toward the west. The medicines she will use are placed to
[823] her right, and the pecan coals are placed in an iron kettle or shovel so their position can be changed as Sanapia doctors. When she is in a house, she attempts to duplicate these conditions as closely as possible.

After her patient is situated, Sanapia begins her attempt to mobilize her

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various power sources for the task at hand. She deposits some cedar on the coals and smokes her Medicine feather by lightly waving it through the rising smoke four times. She then lays her feather on the fragment of Mexican sarape, which also underlies the medicines she will use, and holds her hands in the medicine smoke. With a washing motion, she draws the smoke over her face, arms, chest, and legs. After she "cleanses" herself with the smoke, she takes her feather and ceremonially fans her patient.

She then takes her Bible between her palms and, extending her arms before her, she prays to "God and Jesus and especially the Holy Ghost" to assist her in healing her patient. If she is inspired to do so, she will sometimes open her Bible at random and read from it in an attempt to receive a sign from "God, Jesus, or the Holy Ghost" concerning the direction she should take in her doctoring, or the possible outcome of her treatment.

Next, Sanapia picks up her Chief Peyote, and holding it in her right hand, she speaks to it. As mentioned in the chapter on medicines, Sanapia will usually threaten the peyote rather than beseech it or pray to it when she uses it in doctoring. As she talks to it, she will transfer it from hand to hand in order to draw the power it possesses into her hands.

After Sanapia has made her opening prayers, she is in a very agitated emotional condition. This is mentioned both by Sanapia and by some of her expatients. She considers the chills, shaking, and trembling that she experiences as signs that her power has entered her, and she will not begin to doctor until she reaches this state.

> And when I pray like that . . . well, that power just come over me, comes down and gives me that chills and I start shaking all at once and pretty soon it goes away and then I start. Sometimes I can't hardly touch them, the way my hand be shaking. It makes me feel like that power wants to make me get them well right now.

When she has regained control of her hands after the siege of trembling, Sanapia begins the treatment proper. She takes a segment of the white root of *bekwinatsu* and masticates it to a moist pulp. She then spews it over the patient's face, head, and arms if they have been affected by the ghost contagion. She also takes this moist pulp, and, after rolling it between her palms, she rubs it over the areas of the patient's body which exhibit symptoms of ghost sickness. After so doing, she deposits this premasticated root in the patient's mouth and instructs him to to swallow it.

Sanapia then chews another piece of *bekwinatsu* together with a few leaves of sweet sage to sweeten her mouth and, retaining this concoction in her mouth, applies her mouth to the contorted areas of the patient's face to suck out the sickness. Although she has the option of utilizing her sucking horn in other cases, she is obliged to use her mouth in the doctoring of ghost sickness.

Her mouth and hands are the areas of her body which are believed to be especially charged with power. This is the rationale for the spewing of medicines on a patient, the administering of medicines which have been premasticated by

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775 Sanapia, Sanapia's handling of the medicines before she applies them to her
● 755 patient, and the need of the direct application of the doctor's mouth in the
756 treatment of ghost sickness, the most tenacious sickness Sanapia encounters.

When Sanapia turns her attention to the patient's twisted hands, a contortion which occurs in most cases of ghost sickness reported by Sanapia, her behavior and "bedside manner" undergo a radical change—from intensity and outwardly appearing agitation to gentleness and calm. She puts cedar and rock medicine on the coals to produce medicine smoke and then, manipulating the patient's hand, holds it over the rising smoke. During this phase of treatment she croons and sings to the patient and assures him that her powers will enable him to recover. She will also, at times, drape a black kerchief or a towel on the patient's face as she fans the medicine smoke over his face. After the smoking of the hand, she smooths it with her Medicine feather while her crooning tone is continued.

When her treatment of any afflicted extremity is completed, Sanapia once again places cedar and rock medicine on the coals and fans the medicine smoke over the patient. She then smokes the Medicine feather and draws the smoke over herself with a washing motion of her hands. At this point the first treatment is terminated.

The patient is instructed to rest after this first treatment. Sanapia rewraps her medicines before leaving the room in which she has been doctoring. She then immediately washes her hands and rinses her mouth with a commercial brand of mouth wash in order to destroy any "poison" which she feels may be in her mouth.

Between treatments the patient is continually dosed with a decoction of
[26] *bekwinatsu*. There are no dietary restrictions placed on him during his two-day treatment. Sanapia instructs her patient to rest, pray, and think only pleasant thoughts between treatments. During the midmorning and midafternoon when Sanapia is not involved in doctoring, she busies herself with her household chores and observes no special type of behavior connected with her doctoring. She does insist on decorum and a general quiet among household members during the several days of treatment for the sake of her patient.

When the sun reaches its zenith at midday, the second treatment is begun. This treatment will be similar to the morning treatment. By the end of the second treatment Sanapia will be able to determine if the patient is responding favorably. If the prognosis is good at this point, the subsequent treatments will all be similiar to the first one. However, if the patient is showing no sign of improvement or is worsening, Sanapia will begin to add more elements to her basic pattern of treatment. She will also be more susceptible to inspired variations since she believes that when her powers are with her to their fullest potential, any thoughts she has are of the order of a supernatural directive.

Use of the Peyote Meeting

775 If she feels that a crisis is developing with respect to her patient's condi-
755 tion, she will take her first step to augment the intensity of treatment during the
756
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third treatment at sunset on the first day. Sanapia will usually organize a specialized peyote meeting at this juncture. She carefully selects those to be invited, choosing only three or four individuals who she believes are especially good people and who have prayed with her in the past in similar situations. The local peyote leader is always included in this group since Sanapia concedes that it is his right to lead the meeting, though it is understood that it will be led for her purposes.

This meeting is held indoors. The fire is laid on a piece of sheet metal supported on several bricks. Most of the standard elements of a Comanche peyote meeting are present in this meeting—water drum, gourd rattles, sage wand, cedar staff, Chief Peyote, feather fans, eagle feathers, and Bull Durham tobacco and corn shucks for ceremonial smoking. The tepee is obviously lacking, as is the crescent-shaped earthen altar, the leader's whistle, the water ceremonies, and the ceremonial breakfast.

The meeting proceeds in the usual manner. Sanapia doctors throughout the meeting at those times when she feels particularly inspired to do so. When she desires to doctor, the leader signals those present to cease the singing and passing of the drum and accompanying paraphernalia. Sanapia then waits for the fire to die down to coals before she begins to doctor. She bases her treatment during the meeting on the basic pattern which she followed in the first two treatments earlier that day. However, at this time she adds the use of peyote to her doctoring.

After the smoking of her Medicine feather and herself, the fanning and smoking of her patient and all those present, and the applying of *bekwinatsu* she gives the patient four peyote buttons which she first has masticated. After the patient has taken the required first four buttons, he is doctored with a decoction of peyote. This "tea" is drunk by the patient, and it is applied externally by Sanapia as well as being spewed over the patient's face, head, and hands.

At sunrise when the meeting ends and the peyote drum is disassembled, Sanapia sometimes requests the moist drumhead from the leader and utilizes it in doctoring her patient. She presses the wet hide over the top of the patient's head and forms the hide to the contours of the patient's face while she prays that the patient's face will be cured when she takes the hide off. There is the notion that the pliable qualities of the wet hide will be transferred to the patient's face, and as Sanapia forms the hide, so might she reform the patient's contorted countenance.

She takes some of the sweet sage used to support the Chief Peyote used during the meeting, and after chewing it and rolling it between her hands, she rubs it over the afflicted areas of the patient's body. Sanapia takes a mouthful of water from the peyote drum and blows it over her patient. Some of the charcoal from the drum is used by Sanapia to draw a series of concentric circles on the contorted area of the patient's face. This magical act is supposed to constrict the "foamy stuff" which is causing the contortions of the face by first drawing it within the outer circle, then within the next smaller circle, and so on until the sickness is so localized that it will be a simple task for Sanapia to suck it out.

The seven stone "bosses" which are employed to attach the drum head to the kettle drum body are also utilized by Sanapia as medicine. Sanapia takes

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775 several in each hand and taps the patient's face. This is felt to transfer the positive
755 qualities of these stones—firmness and stability—to the patient's face.
756

Intercession of the Medicine Eagle

775 If the patient is still not improved after the peyote meeting, Sanapia will
755 move to her ultimate level of doctoring intensity by attempting to call her Medicine
756 eagle to her assistance through the intercession of the spirits of her mother and
787 maternal uncle. This step is not taken at the beginning of treatment because of
778 the dangers involved with the presence of so great an amount of supernatural
power. It is possible that she might kill her patient by exposing him to this burst
[761] of supernatural energy. Also, Sanapia forestalls calling her ultimate powers into
play because of her feeling that the physical reactions which this powerful pres-
ence produces in her will ultimately cause her death.

On the second day, if she has decided to follow this course of action, she refrains from her sunrise and midday doctoring. The patient spends the day resting and drinking great quantities of peyote and *bekwinatsu* "tea." Sanapia passes the daylight hours alone in some secluded area preparing herself for the traumatic activities in which she will be engaged after sunset.

> I set somewhere out there away from peoples . . . be by myself. I don't do nothing but sit and think about things. Like what my mother told me about things, and what my uncle told me. Think about all the years I come along and how up to today I'm still living. I don't do anything different from what I do if I am sitting anywhere by myself . . . just thinking about them things.

[515] Immediately before sunset Sanapia goes to the stream which flows near
[858] her house and washes her hands and face before returning to her house. Any small children or infants who happen to be members of the household at this time are taken to spend the night with relatives in a nearby town, so they need not be exposed to the potential dangers of the night's doctoring activities. Sanapia firmly instructs her patient that he must do whatever she requests of him during the coming night. If he reacts slowly to her commands, he could die. Once again, this instruction is given in recognition of the dangers of supernatural power.

775 The night's doctoring follows the basic pattern of the first two treatments
755 of the first day; however, this last treatment of the second day will continue
756 throughout the night and will contain the crucial element of Sanapia's singing of
778 her Medicine song. Sometime late in the night when Sanapia feels the proper
787 inspiration, she begins to sing her song. She will sing it over and over again until
533 the spirits she is calling come to her. The first singing of the song takes place with her patient as she fans him with her Medicine feather. She then leaves the house and continues her singing as she sits alone in the dark.

Sanapia first sees the spirits of her mother and uncle as two lights burning on the crest of a hill approximately a hundred yards south of her house. They slowly approach her. The rapidity of their approach corresponds to the intensity of Sanapia's singing, for it is her song which is drawing them to her. They

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finally stand before her, looking entirely natural and lifelike, much as they looked during Sanapia's adolescence. Sanapia continues her singing as they stand silently before her. In her song she tells them that she is alone and helpless and that she has no one to whom she can turn for help but them. She reminds them of their pledge of aid whenever she might need it during her lifetime. Sanapia may have to repeat her song for several hours as the spirits stand gazing down at her. Finally, with gestures of the hands they indicate that Sanapia will have what she wishes.

This means that the spirits of her mother and uncle have interceded with the Medicine eagle on her behalf. If the Medicine eagle is going to appear to Sanapia, it is at this time that he makes his appearance. Sanapia does not move after the spirits of her mother and uncle have left her. She ceases her Medicine song, but she remains to pray for a while longer before returning to her patient. Sanapia also must rest while her heart and breathing recover normalcy after the agitation they experienced during the apparition of the spirits.

She describes the appearance of the Medicine eagle in the following account:

> I was so tired then and I was crying too. Sitting there and seeing my mother like that. All at once I felt cold wind pushing me down. It was on my head and all around . . . flatten down the grass around me and I had to lean on my hands because it was heavy like I thought it might push me down right over my face. My blanket was blowing off me and I was grabbing for it . . . blowing my hair all over. Got scared and started shaking. Boy! that wind blow dust in my eyes and I was rubbing them when all at once everything got calm . . . like a dream like when you be sleeping way in the night. I saw that eagle . . . big, big, like an eagle . . . shining so pretty on its feathers. And I guess I was being silly because I start crying some more . . . just like some old woman. But I hear it in my mind, you know, say, "Go ahead, get him well. You can do it." Then I don't see nothing . . . I guess it's gone then.

Sanapia returns to her patient and attempts to utilize her newly acquired power increase to cure him. She uses only her Medicine feather and medicine smoke at this point. Most of her energy is aimed at instilling in her patient, through her prayers and contact with her feather, enough power to negate the malevolent forces which are acting to keep the patient from recovering. She does not come in physical contact with the patient at this time, for she feels that such contact would kill him.

If her patient has recovered during the night, she takes him outside with her before sunrise to make her morning prayers. She then blesses him in the standard manner and instructs him to wear the red paint for two days before he washes it off. This blessing on the morning of the third day after the initiation of doctoring marks the end of treatment.

Payments

The final payment is made within the succeeding weeks. Sanapia does not state a price but must accept whatever is offered her. She has received from

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$25 to $100 for her services as a doctor. The normal payment consists of about $30, plus groceries and enough cloth for several dresses. Several informants stated that the gift of groceries is connected with a belief that Sanapia eats the sickness which a patient might have; therefore, she should be given something good to eat as payment.

Sanapia's many comments concerning the difficulty of being a doctor often deal with the question of payments.

> Some people don't pay. They have to but they don't. They say, "Well, we haven't got no money now, but when we got money we'll pay you." They don't do it. My husband got to talking about it with some people that came here once. I was in there listening. He said, "Lots of people come here, and they come in real sick, real sick. She takes her time and doctor them, and she wait on them, and she even cook for them and give them eats because its two or three days before she get through with them. They promise her this and that and they never give it to her." There's many people that owe me that. I get tired, you know. Lots of times it get so hot in there doctoring them . . . sweating and tired out by the time I get through. And then I go through all that work for nothing.

The Necessity of Faith

An emergency situation sometimes arises when Sanapia must leave her house and go to the patient to doctor him. In this instance all of the formal first interview rituals are ignored, and Sanapia may begin doctoring with an intensity greater than that which she would be prone to initiate in an ordinary case. Sanapia customarily makes the following statement to those who appear at her home and hurriedly insist that she come at once to doctor a sick relative: "If I catch you between here and you alls place, they ain't no use in me doctoring." In other words, if Sanapia, leaving after the petitioners, overtakes them before they reach home where the sick individual lies, it signifies to Sanapia that the petitioners either do not care very much for the sick individual since they did not hurry back to him or they do not believe in Sanapia's powers. Sanapia's customarily made statement in this situation is involved with her feeling of the necessity of men's faith in power if they desire supernatural power to operate on their behalf.

Throughout the doctoring procedure, Sanapia continually prods the patient to have faith in her powers and the powers of the sun, earth, God, peyote, Jesus, Medicine eagle, and the Holy Ghost. It can also be remembered that many of the rituals involved with Sanapia's acquisition of power from her mother were colored by tests of faith and courage. Sanapia will admit that a person who does not believe in her power cannot be doctored by her: Her doctoring will have no effect. Also, a person who does not believe in ghosts and witches cannot be harmed by them. Wallace and Hoebel (1952:159) mention that the Comanches felt that if a *puhakut* did not believe in the powers he possessed, his powers would not work for him.

In order to instill this crucial element of faith in her patient, Sanapia admits that she does exaggerate her doctoring performance at times. She did not

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elaborate on this statement, only suggesting that she works to make her patient believe in her since he will not regain his health if he does not have faith in her powers. Some of Sanapia's expatients have noted her ability to make things appear and disappear; however, as mentioned previously, Sanapia will deny that she does sleight of hand.

Sanapia is aware that her shamanistic performance is expected by her patients and that it is a necessary element in strengthening their faith in her. However, she states that she could marshal her powers for healing without the performance, though the patient would not be highly impressed. Sanapia must move the patient to an emotional acceptance of her powers, for she feels that without the patient's confirmed faith her powers can do nothing toward curing him. Sanapia's belief that the patient's attitude toward the doctor is of significant importance in determining the outcome of the treatment is based in a sound grasp of psychotherapeutic principle, though in her case it is couched in the mystique of the faith healer.

Number of Patients per Year

How many patients does Sanapia doctor each year? This would be a difficult question to answer exactly. Sanapia does not think in these terms. Further she does not consider it "proper" to discuss the question. I would estimate, however, that she doctors approximately six cases of ghost sickness per year, and she may treat twenty patients suffering from more standard ailments during the same time. These estimates are based on clues collected during several years of interviewing and on observations of the contents of her medicine kit. I observed her medicine kit in the early fall when her medicines were almost totally depleted and watched as she collected what she felt would be a sufficient quantity of medicines to last until the next collecting season the following fall. From a knowledge of the possible combinations and quantities of dosages of these medicines, I estimated how many patients could be treated before the medicine supply would be depleted. This estimate corresponded closely with the estimates based on interview material.

What Is Ghost Sickness?

This is an important question. The key to understanding Sanapia's vital function in twentieth-century Comanche society rests with the answer. Ghost sickness may be an entirely organic or static affliction, perhaps a variety of organically motivated transient paralysis. Then again, a viewpoint suggesting the psychogenic nature of ghost sickness presented itself when Sanapia's accounts of ghost sickness victims were perused, particularly noting the age and sex of the victim. In the majority of cases, the victim was male, twenty-five to forty years of age. Also, based on interviews with ghost-sickness victims and information gathered from Comanche informants, it was discovered that these individuals were all very similar personalities.

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775 164 [755] The Comanches use "crooked mouth," "twisted face," and "twisted up" as synonyms for ghost sickness, and these terms are helpful in their descriptive capacity. It is also significant that Sanapia is almost always successful in curing this affliction in adults, though she is much less efficient in curing these same symptoms when they appear in infants and are considered the result of witchcraft.

A survey of the literature on hemiplegic disorders strongly suggests for consideration a vaguely understood variety of paralysis called Bell's palsy. Bell's palsy is due to the paralysis of the seventh cranial nerve and results in the paralysis of one-half the face. The condition is usually abrupt in onset, reaching its peak within a few hours. In the majority of cases the paralysis appears as an isolated finding without demonstrable cause. The eye on the affected side cannot be closed and its waters excessively. The lips are displaced toward the healthy side and the corner of the mouth sags. "No proof of bacterial or viral infection has yet been adduced, and the actual pathogenesis remains unknown" (Kunkle 1950:1493). Treatment usually consists of kneading and friction on the afflicted side (Goodall-Copestake 1926:225).

124 775 164 I prepared simplified descriptions of ordinary hemiplegia, multiple or disseminated sclerosis, shaking palsy or Parkinson's disease, and Bell's palsy, neuromuscular disorders which all share some symptoms in common, and read them to Sanapia for her reaction. She immediately chose the account of Bell's palsy as a description of ghost sickness, even suggesting that I had based the description on information with which she had supplied me.

775 164 The medical descriptions of Bell's palsy describe the facial paralysis present in ghost sickness; however, in these accounts no mention is made of a concomitantly occurring contraction, spasm, or paralysis of the hands and arms, a symptom which from Sanapia's accounts occurs in many cases of ghost sickness. The emotion of fear, a key theme in the accounts of actual ghost contagion, offers a clue to the etiology of the affliction of the hands and arms. Dr. Gail Neely (1968) offered the suggestion that fear or emotional shock is one of the major causes of hyperventilation, or highly irregular, abnormally rapid respiration. Schottstaedt (1960: 48–51) supports Neely's suggestion and adds:

> Hyperventilation deserves special emphasis because of its importance in giving rise to symptoms. . . . This process ultimately results in a state of respiratory alkalosis with effects throughout the body. Many sensations result from this chemical derangement. . . . If hyperventilation continues long enough, spasms of the hand and feet (tetany), a feeling of being paralyzed, and actual loss of consciousness may occur. . . . Any of these manifestations may arouse fear; the more dramatic ones ordinarily do.
>
> In addition, an anxious person often has irregular respiration, which may become sufficiently severe to produce all of the manifestations of hyperventilation. The overt behavior is usually avoidance, ranging from a readiness or desire for flight to actual running away.

Medical descriptions of tetany, which, as Schottstaedt mentioned, can be caused by hyperventilation, follow Sanapia's description of the hands in ghost sickness to the letter. Aub (1951:1275) writes:

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The hands become stiff, with rigid fingers. The thumb is markedly adducted and partially covered by the stiff fingers, which are usually bent only at their metacarpophalangeal joints. The palm of the hand is hollowed, while the wrist and elbow are flexed. 775 164

It is significant that Sanapia's methods of doctoring ghost sickness follow the treatment by white doctors for Bell's palsy and hyperventilation. Her rationale for her method of treatment is not similar, but the actual results of the behavior which she initiates are. She applies her mouth to the patient's face in an attempt to suck the illness from the individual. She also applies liquid medicines to the face area and draws her Medicine feather over the skin in the afflicted area. This could constitute the "gentle massage," "kneading of the cheek muscles," and "gentle friction" prescribed by Kunkel (1950:1493–1494) and Goodall-Copestake (1926:225) for treatment of Bell's palsy. When Sanapia turns her attention to treating the contorted hands, her method, in general, follows that which Dr. Neely states that he utilizes to relieve the symptoms of hyperventilation. She drapes a towel or piece of cloth over the patient's face and directs him to inhale the pungent smoke produced by smoldering medicines. During this phase of treatment she croons to the patient and gently reassures him that his condition will be cured. Neely stresses that the calm reassurance of the patient suffering from hyperventilation was a necessary part of the treatment. He also temporarily places a bag or some sort of facial covering over the patient's mouth and nose to impede the invidiual's intake of oxygen and force the recirculation of carbon dioxide. He also notes that smelling salts or ammonia can be used to further decrease the patient's attempts at excessively deep and rapid breathing. 775 164 171 755

A Psychogenic Hypothesis

In an attempt to discover an organic or static description of ghost sickness it was found that the types of disorders which most thoroughly describe ghost sickness are all highly suspect as to their being more organic than more functional in nature. The particular reasons why this hypothesis was suggested prior to the discussion of Bell's palsy and hyperventilation were based on the noted similarity in age, sex, and general personality type of the ghost victims and the fact that though the rules for ghost avoidance are extremely simple and obvious, certain individuals still apparently voluntarily violate these rules with full knowledge of the predicted consequences. The discussion of Bell's palsy and hyperventilation added further evidence for the role of psychological phenomenon, for example, the emotion of fear, desire for avoidance, shock, emotional strain, pressure, and the therapeutic value of reassurance in the treatment of hyperventilation. 775 164

Two concepts of psychosomatic medicine must be mentioned and their utility evaluated before proceeding further. These concepts are "conversion reaction" and "vegetative neurosis." A conversion symptom is a symbolic expression of a well-defined emotional content, while a vegetative neurosis is the physiological

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Ghost Sickness and Witch Sickness

Sanapia's great success in curing ghost-sickness victims appears to give further support to the idea of the psychogenesis of ghost sickness. Then again, she would also be attributed with success in curing a transient unilateral facial paralysis of an organic genesis which ran its course during the time of treatment or within a suitable time span after treatment. Of course, they both support the same conclusion to the Comanches: Sanapia can cure ghost sickness. However, if Sanapia is successful in curing ghost sickness, why does she enjoy a relative lack of success in curing the victims of witchcraft when the symptomatic manifestations of the two are practically identical? Once again, as in the discussion of ghost sickness, a valuable clue is suggested by looking at standardization in the age and sex of the victims of the witch. The institution of witchcraft will be more thoroughly surveyed in Chapter 5. It seems most appropriate that the etiology of witchcraft symptoms should be discussed at this juncture since we are approaching the question of Sanapia's cultural function as curer of afflictions believed by the Comanches to be magically or supernaturally instigated.

The overwhelming majority of Comanche witch victims are infants, rarely more than several years of age. Therefore, we must base our attempt at explanation of the symptoms of witch sickness on an organic disorder which corresponds to the symptoms displayed by the witched victim. The medical literature presents an account of a disorder which corresponds in type to the symptoms present in ghost sickness and witch sickness, but which is limited, with rare exceptions, to infants less than two years of age. This neuromuscular disorder, tetany, also exhibits two symptoms by which Sanapia conceptually differentiates between witch sickness and ghost sickness by the degree of their severity. Sanapia points out that though witch- and ghost-sickness victims demonstrate similar modes of contortion, the witch victim's contortions appear most often in spasmodic fashion, while this trait is less marked in ghost sickness. Also, the peculiar contractions of the hands and arms, described in discussing ghost sickness, are more prevalent in cases of witch sickness. Further, two major causes of tetany in infants result from inadequate calcium intake and vitamin D deficiency, dietary lacks which could easily occur in the relatively poor environment in which many Comanche infants are reared.

Aub (1951:1275) mentions that signs of tetany will result from alkalosis of various origins, such as hyperventilation. The relationship of the emotion of fear to hyperventilation is noteworthy. Although the infant does not understand that he is the target of the witch, his parents do. Perhaps the parents' increased anxiety over the symptoms of tetany, which they could associate with witchcraft, only acts to increase anxiety in the infant, thus more readily acting to increase the possibility of hyperventilation. It is a common observation that the emotional state of parents can affect the emotional state of their infant children.

Because of the suggested differences in etiology of ghost sickness and witch sickness, Sanapia's success with ghost sickness and relative lack of success in curing witch sickness is understandable. She can relieve some of the symptoms of

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754 witch sickness through her ability to ease the anxiety of the parents and therefore
854 decrease the anxiety which is communicated to the child. However, Sanapia can-
164 not alleviate certain factors, perhaps of an environmental nature, which have
756 caused tetany. It is also significant that with witch victims, because of their age, Sanapia is unable to communicate. In discussing the actual treatment of ghost sickness, it was seen that psychotherapeutic traits in her behavior toward her patient are ubiquitous.

Sanapia, Ghosts, and Ghost Sickness

756 A great amount of time has been spent in discussing ghosts, ghost sick-
775 ness, and the suggested causes of ghost sickness because of this complex's close
164 association to Sanapia's role in Comanche society. As an eagle doctor, Sanapia's
755 special thaumaturgic power is believed to be her ability to counteract or defeat the ghost's malevolent influences on living men. Because of the nature of the symptoms associated with ghost sickness and because of their probable psychogenic etiology, she is almost always successful in treating the victim of the ghost. If the affliction which her patient possesses is an organically based transient unilateral facial paralysis, it will disappear of its own accord when it runs its course; and if the disorder is hysterically induced, the patient actually cures himself, while Sanapia more or less functions as a symbol to the patient that the time for his cure is at hand. Of course, the psychotherapeutic value of her method of curing cannot be minimized, and perhaps it could be said that the emotional state which she induces in her hysterical patient functions as a trigger for his self-healing.

756 Sanapia's most important overt function in contemporary Comanche society
775 is as a symbol of the Comanche's ability to withstand the attacks of the ghosts.
184 She also serves as the necessary key to the psychological reintegration of marginal Comanches who have "employed" the ghost-sickness conversion reaction. As long as Sanapia, or other eagle doctors, stand as a source of cure, Comanche individuals can contract ghost sickness as a means of relieving certain intolerable emotional states. This could also serve to explain the longevity of the institution of the Comanche eagle doctor, while the other kinds of Comanche native doctors have
756 long since ceased to exist. The human disorder associated with the eagle doctor's
177 particular brand of specialization, ghost sickness, has only increased with the
775 acculturation of the Comanche people, while the specialties of the other varieties
164 of Comanche doctors have been usurped during this same process. It is ironic that acculturation, while actively corroding the overall complexion of traditional Comanche culture, has also served to revive and augment the important function of a symbol of traditional Comanche culture, the Medicine woman.

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the imitative and sympathetic mystical rapport an eagle doctor possess with his supernatural patron, the eagle; and it suggests that possibly this method of witchcraft is, or was, in the form of a special Medicine solely possessed by doctors with eagle power and that doctors who possessed a different supernatural patron would also possess different method of witchcraft. The emphasis on prayers to the sun is also relevant.

The Symptoms of Witch Sickness

Sanapia feels that the symptoms exhibited by an individual who has been witched are unmistakable. Such a person feels tired and listless and is unable to retain food. He wants to sleep continually and usually suffers from fever. The unique symptom of witchcraft, according to Sanapia, is excessive perspiration on the top of the victim's head, perspiration which the victim cannot feel and which can be felt only by a doctor possessing the proper Medicine. She believes that this localized fever is caused by "foamy stuff" which accumulates under the skin surface at the top of the head. The foamy stuff is, in turn, caused by the magically toxic witch's feather. Also occurring are symptoms which are very similar to the unilateral facial paralysis which appears with ghost sickness. In the case of witchcraft, however, the victim's eyes do not water, he does not salivate excessively, and the contortions of the face, hands, and arms occur in spasmodic fashion rather than the constant state of paralysis found with ghost sickness. In both cases the contortions of the face are felt to be caused by pockets of foamy stuff which accumulate under the skin.

Sanapia feels that ghost and witch sickness are the most difficult types of sickness to treat because both are essentially unnatural and malevolent. In contrast, pneumonia, for example, is a natural sickness which does not possess the supernatural tenacity of illnesses which are backed by the supernatural and malevolent resolve of a ghost or witch. Thus with ghost and witch sickness, Sanapia must not only cure the symptomatic effects of these illnesses but must also act to neutralize the malevolent supernatural power which is somehow contiguous with these symptoms.

Treatment of Witch Sickness

When Sanapia doctors a victim of witchcraft, she utilizes *tɔpinatsu*, *ekapokowa:pi*, *kutiwɔna*, her Medicine feather, glass slivers, charcoal from the peyote drum, and her sucking horn. She prepares a thin paste of *kutiwɔna* and applies it to the area of the patient's body which she feels to be the place where the feather is located. *Tɔpinatsu* and *ekapokowa:pi* are deposited on live coals to produce medicine smoke which is wafted over the patient to induce healing.

The procedure begins before sunrise on the first day of treatment when Sanapia makes her morning prayers to the rising sun. She begins treatment proper when she feels all conditions to be favorable. Exactly what criteria Sanapia uses

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754 to judge when the time is right to begin treatment would be difficult to outline.
755 A good portion of such a feeling would naturally be highly personal. Some condi-
756 tions which would be negative influences on Sanapia's decision to begin treat-
787 ment might be barking dogs, the sudden appearance of visitors, an infant's crying, or a sudden change of weather. Sanapia would consider barking dogs or a sudden change of weather as negative omens. The appearance of visitors or the crying of an infant would simply be distracting to her.

754 When she initiates treatment, she first prays over the patient and fans
755 smoke produced by the *tapinatsu* and *ekapokowa:pi* over him. After her first
756 prayer, in which she calls on her powers to assist her, she takes her charcoal
[782] medicine and draws a circle around the area on the patient's body in which she feels the feather is located to prevent the feather's escape to another area of the body. Next, she makes several incisions in the area of the circle and applies a thin paste of *kusiwana* over the incisions. She then fans her medicine smoke over this area and begins her attempt to suck the feather from the patient's body.

As blood, sucked from the area of incisions, collects in her sucking horn or in her mouth, she deposits it on a white paper plate which she keeps near her. The entire procedure of cutting, applying medicine, fanning, and attempting to remove the feather by suction continues until Sanapia has removed the feather or has come to the conclusion that her powers are not sufficient to cure the patient. When and if the feather appears in the plate of blood she shows the plate to the patient, or the patient's parents, and pronounces him cured; and, after giving the patient a final blessing, the treatment is completed.

The word "appears," when used in connection with the removal of the witch's feather, must be understood in a special sense. Sanapia does not state that she removes a real feather. She reports that the Comanche words she uses when exhibiting the plate of blood to the patient after the "removal of the feather" means that the effects of the feather have been removed. She feels that the witch can project the evil potential of the plume into the body of the victim, though the feather itself is not magically injected into the vitcim. Sanapia doctors to alleviate the physical symptoms which result from the magically injected malevolent essence of the eagle plume utilized in the act of witchcraft. This notion of transmitting the essence of an object into a person was mentioned in the discussion of Sanapia's doctoring of ghost sickness. During her doctoring in the specially arranged peyote meeting, Sanapia attempted to transmit the pliable qualities of the wet drumhead to the patient's face. She also applied the stone peyote drum "bosses" to the patient's face so that, through her powers, the positive qualities of these stones—firmness and stability—could be injected into the patient's contorted face to heal him. Just as Sanapia attempted to inflict positive powers from their source to a patient, so could she use her powers to inject negative essences of an object into an individual. But what is the particular malevolent essence of an eagle plume which can be utilized to witch? As we discuss the manner in which Sanapia conceptualizes the nature and cause of human illness, the answer will present itself.

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753 of the witching feather which is injected into the victim's body is rapid and erratic motion.

The notion of swelling is included in practically every description of illness which Sanapia relates. It is also significant that one of her major medicines is *bekwinatsu*, or swelling medicine. In Sanapia's opinion, ghost sickness, pneumonia, rheumatism, asthma, headaches, vertigo, constipation, and a number of other human complaints have swelling as their central pathological core. As stated previously, the swelling is either produced by or produces a toxic liquid, usually referred to by Sanapia as foamy stuff, which by its nature expands in the body. It is this liquid or the swelling that produces this liquid, which causes the symptoms of illnesses such as those just mentioned, but not the illness itself. The foamy stuff, the only tangible and manipulatable manifestation of illness, is removed from the body by the *puhakut* by suction or by being driven out.

753 Sanapia states that she never removes an object from the patient's body
755 claiming that she has removed the sickness, although she remembers that her mother did this. Sanapia feels that she cures by removing the poison, or foamy stuff, present in the patient's body and by using her supernatural powers to assure that through her prayers the patient may live a long and healthy life. In other words, the supernatural or unknown causes of the patient's illnesses are banished through her prayers.

751 Sanapia describes a healthy body as one which possesses a balance and
753 calm throughout all its tissues, liquids, and organs. When something causes this balance and calm to be disrupted, sickness results. Some foreign agent moving in a rapid and erratic manner through the body is definitely unsettling to the body's parts. Swollen areas displace tissues, organs and body liquids, also unsettling the body balance. Foamy stuff irritates the body generally.

753 Sanapia is persistent in her comments that she never actually removes a
754 real feather from the body of the victim of a witch; however, she states that
755 most Comanches who come to her for this treatment believe she does.

> They ain't got no power . . . never learned them ways, so how do they know? They can think what they want to think. I get them well, or their little baby. That's what they come here for, and I do it so they can believe what they want. If it makes them happy, let them think what they like. I don't care about it myself.

From Sanapia's description of the doctoring of the witched victim, it can be seen that she does not exert herself to make him, or his parents, think any other way about the reality of the feather in his body. In other words, she never reports that there is not a feather in him, and all her behavior during the treatment only lends support to the patient's belief that there is a real feather present in his body.

754 Another aspect of the *puhakut*'s treatment of witchcraft victims is sug-
755 gested by Kardiner (1945:67). He writes that Comanche doctors were able to
756 identify the individual responsible for the witching during the treatment of the one who had been witched.

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With regard to Sanapia's niece's child, Sanapia said that she knew who had witched the girl but did not tell the mother for fear of frightening her. Sanapia does not suggest that any supernatural talents are involved in the ability to identify the witch. Since Sanapia believes that witchcraft can only be operated by those with a high degree of *puha*, the field of possibilities is immediately narrowed. She evaluates the community in which the witch's victim lives and, through a process of elimination, selects the witch. She does not make her choice known for fear of frightening the victim or his parents, as has been mentioned, and also because she feels that if her accusations are made public, it would only cause further dissension among the Comanche people. She feels that there is enough tension among the Comanches without adding accusations of witchcraft.

The Contemporary Situation

This chapter has dealt with Sanapia's treatment of a victim who has been witched by the magical insertion of the malevolent essence of an eagle plume. Sanapia doctors also among the Wind River Shoshone, southern Cheyenne, southern and northern Arapaho, Kiowa, Kiowa-Apache, Ponca, Creek, and Fort Sill Apache, as well as the Comanche; and thus she has confronted cases of witchcraft other than the variety which has been described in this chapter. Her general approach to a cure, however, is similar in all cases. She feels that the body of the victim has been put out of balance by some tangible or intangible entity; therefore, to correct the abnormal condition, she works to remove that which is causing this physiological disequilibrium.

Given the antagonistic feelings beween the northern and southern Comanches and the fact that patterns of witchcraft exist, it would seem that there would be a high rate of intergroup witchcraft, at least being directed by the northerners. This does not appear to be the case, a major reason being that the southerners generally do not respond. They consider witches and witchcraft merely superstitious beliefs, or, at best, nonexistent in modern times. A further possible explanation of this lack of intergroup witchcraft is the special distribution of the Comanche bands—the more traditionally oriented bands cluster in the north and northwest of the Comanche area while the more fully acculturated band members are found in the south and southwest. There may be as many as 40 miles separating members of these two groups. Therefore, there is no necessity for daily social interaction between members of the opposing "tribes," which could reduce the generalized hostilities to more intense and socially unsettling personal conflict, thus better facilitating the desire and the opportunity for the execution of witchcraft.

Witchcraft among contemporary Comanches is mainly intergenerational. Older men and women, feeling their life power fading, turn to malevolent magic in an attempt to augment their failing social prestige and to defend themselves against the more vital younger generation. The few cases of witchcraft which I was able to investigate among the Comanches followed this general pattern of essentially intergenerational jealousy and tension. This was also the basic